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WAR SEEN BECOMING MAJOR IMPASSE FOR SOVIETS

Paris LE FIGARO in French No 11820, 4, 5 Sep 82 p 2F

[Report by Emmanuel Braquet: "Afghanistan: The Helplessness of the Soviets"]

[Text] Filmmaker Emmanuel Braquet has already covered the Kurdish war in Iraq (1974-75) and in Iran (1979) for LE FIGARO. He has just returned from Afghanistan, after traveling 400 km over that country's trails and paths, accompanying a caravan of weapons destined for the Panshir Valley, the model for the entire Afghan resistance. He tells us his impressions and his observations.

"As soon as you cross the Afghan border, hide 10,000 afghanis in the lining of your pants. If you are captured by the 'Parchamis' (procommunist militia), you'll be able to buy your freedom with that money. It's well worth \$400, isn't it? Everything can be bought over there.... You'll see, this war has taken on some unusual aspects...."

It's true. Thus in the tribal border area where we were 24 hours before crossing the border and whose villages straddle Pakistan and Afghanistan, the customary chiefs received subsidies from Kabul--thus from the Soviets--to prevent the Mojahedin (Afghan rebels) from filtering through these regions. Here in these unchecked sectors, where the only law is still that of the gun and where the feeling of unity does not extend beyond the limits of the clan, it is always all right to accept money and this carries hardly any stigma.

The Afghan resistance has found the proper response in entrusting to nomads of these same tribes the conveyance of arms and munitions essential to fighters in the interior and paying handsomely for such transportation. To avoid violent confrontations and internal splits, the tribal chiefs close their eyes while opening wide their hands. In the right hand fall the afghanis of the resistance, while Soviet rubles rain down in the left hand!....

These secondary aspects would bring a smile if it weren't for the tens of thousands of dead, wounded, maimed and imprisoned and those 2,080,000 refugees in Pakistan (not to mention the 800,000 in Iran),* who are living proof of the hatred and violence that has divided Afghanistan for 3 years. The Pakistani

*Figures furnished by the Committee of the International Red Cross in Peshanar (Pakistan).

Government, which receives subsidies from the international community based on the declared number of refugees, has reported 2,800,000! And these refugees weigh heavy in the balance of negotiations between Soviets and Pakistanis. They constitute an asset for Soviet diplomacy, which is becoming more and more irritated over the aid which Pakistan is giving the rebels and the negligence it has demonstrated in being unable to prevent observers (doctors, journalists) from crossing into Afghanistan and especially in allowing arms to be moved through its territory. The denials of the Islamabad government have met with little response in Moscow, which is well aware that after the number of refugees passes the 3-million mark, Pakistan will no longer be able to bear the expense of such a large number of homeless people. For international aid--already considerable--cannot be increased significantly, especially for an indeterminate period which some people foresee as indefinite.

Threat of Terrorism

Soviet pressure is therefore being exerted in two different directions to induce General Zia's government to show more "understanding": On one hand, the threat of launching terrorist operations in Afghanistan in areas still inhabited by a civilian population, to cause them to flee and thus swell the tide of refugees; on the other hand, formidable pressure exerted through the Pakistani Baluchis, who number 5 million and who have demanded their autonomy for a very long time. In 1974-75, an actual war of liberation was waged in Baluchistan, resulting in 50,000 deaths in the greatest silence. No one here has forgotten it. Following that confrontation, thousands of Pakistani Baluchis sought refuge among their Afghan brothers. The Soviets have understood what a formidable lever that force would represent in possible negotiations. They are providing the survivors with military training in camps in the vicinity of Kandahar, less than 100 km from their territory of origin.... With these two swords of Damocles constantly hanging over its head, the Pakistani Government's room to maneuver is limited in its desire not to abandon the Afghan resistance to its own fate.

400 Km with the Rebels

Such virtual dependence does not appear to affect the rebels out in the field itself in Afghanistan. In accompanying, over unlikely trails apt to frustrate all surveillance, a caravan of camels staggering under the weight of rockets, antitank mines and machine guns (all weapons of U.S. origin) for 400 km, I was able to observe that the Russians and government militias control nothing.

The villages have been emptied of part of their population. No village is safe from a raid by armored helicopters, which flew over us several times, evidently in search of our column. In some villages, gutted houses and gaping roofs testify to this fierce determination to destroy, to clear the countryside of its inhabitants through terrorism. Only the disabled and the elderly, who are too old to make the long journey to Pakistan, are left, as well as a few families and city dwellers who have taken the place of villagers who have fled. Living frugally, the Afghans have adapted to the penury. There are not enough hands for irrigation, for the harvests. In 3 weeks of walking, we ate meat 3 times, rice 5 times and a few eggs. The rest of the time: tea and flat cakes of unleavened bread.

Everyone here is a Mojahedin and everyone travels with his "Kalachnikov," which has become the weapon of all revolutionaries; for it is definitely a revolution in Afghanistan. In the minds of the people, first of all. Who would have thought that these individualistic, fanatical, quarrelsome, divided Afghans, attached to their ethnic sense of identity, without any notion or experience of democracy, would manage to fashion in less than 3 years a wall of unity based, moreover, on the pluralism of political parties?

But it was not without clashes--or without merit, either--that this coalition of heteroclitic elements was gradually achieved. How is it possible to distinguish between those fighting in the name of Islam and those fighting first for Afghanistan? Between nationalists tinged with Westernism and dreaming of a parliamentary democracy, and fundamentalists hoping for the establishment of an Islamic republic later? Between those--a minority--advocating a return to the monarchy and those who, having suffered its wrath, as is the case of numerous party leaders, do not want to hear about it under any circumstances?

So many factions, so many differences patched up or contained, so many tribal rivalries or conflicts of a personal nature. The hatred of the "rusски," of the "chouravi" (terms used to refer to "collectivists"), the constant reference to Islam and the well-understood threat that Western countries, the United States and Saudi Arabia could stop all aid in the event of failure to stay united enable all these constituents of the resistance to live together and to overcome old ancestral aversions.

A Very Fragile Joint Front

This Joint Front, established on 13 March, is still very fragile. We were held up in one village for 3 days because of a "partisan trial." The neighboring town's fighters (followers of Hizbi-Islami) believed that they had been tricked by Jamiat-Islami followers from our village, who had sold them oats at a price considered exorbitant. A miniwar within the great war ... the limits of absurdity.

The mountains echoed with the taunting crackling of machine guns, while men settled ancient quarrels; 20 km away, I heard the muffled echo of Soviet bombs relieving the Charikar Valley and Bagram airport from the pressure of other rebels! If the fresh outbreak of political parties, which are proliferating like poisonous mushrooms (currently 52 of them in Pakistan, only 8 of which are really important), is a good sign for the future hypothetical Afghan democracy, it is nevertheless an additional divisive factor.

The Afghans in the interior, those fighting in the field under trying conditions from day to day, very often eschew party differences and are not directly concerned with such dynamics of unity. Despite the Soviets' many attempts, they have not managed to turn to their advantages these regional or tribal antagonisms, so powerful is the hostility toward them. The presence of 130,000 soldiers and considerable war materiel--plus 35,000 Afghan soldiers and militia members--enable them to occupy the main roads, the capital and to launch single offensives. Controlling all of Afghanistan would require a much greater commitment.

A high official of a Western embassy told me: "They would need 500,000 to 600,000 men. Then we could speak of another Vietnam. For the time being, we have the impression that they are satisfied with the present situation. They are present in Afghanistan, they are maintaining the fiction of the Kabul government's legality and they have achieved the first step in their plan to give them access to warm waters. Don't forget that Trotsky said: 'Comrades, the revolution that we are nurturing in London and Paris will first proceed by way of Kabul and Bombay ...' They are also isolating Iran, which, left weak and drained by its wars, will fall into their hands like an overripe plum. All of that is well worth a few thousand lives, don't you think? And what could that mean to them?"

4,000 Soviets Killed in 3 Months

Each side is settling in for the war. Even the most optimistic political officials now have the feeling that it will be long, very long. According to the most favorable estimates, since the beginning of hostilities the Russians have lost more than 10,000 men, 4,000 of them in the last 3 months.

"In the beginning," one leader told me, "we recovered many identification cards of Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkomen, that is, of Soviet soldiers from the neighboring sister Moslem republics of our provinces. For a year I have had the feeling that if the size of those Moslem units has not varied, they have been mixed with other predominantly white units. At the time of the recent violent clashes in the north and northeast, we recovered on the bodies of 'chouravis' the military identification papers of Georgians, Caucasians and Armenians, as though the Soviets were putting on the front lines young men belonging to ethnic groups which had formerly endured oppression or massacres carried out by Moslems and who would thus be more motivated to fight against Islam...."

This conflict has seen the emergence of "new" men, extraordinary fighters who have proven to be war leaders in the field and political and administrative leaders at the same time. Wardak's Amin, for example, or Massoud in the Penshir Valley, the model for the entire Afghan resistance, the impregnable sanctuary about 100 km northeast of Kabul, a constant challenge to the Red Army, which has been trying in vain for 2 years to occupy it.

"You want to be Mojahedins? Then go get your weapons in Pakistan and come back ... I'll be waiting for you."

That is Massoud's only instruction to young city residents who flock to his side en masse, especially since the recent issuance of the decree of Karmal, the head of the Kabul government, aimed at forcibly drafting into his army all men less than 35 years old.

"That is the best way to train them. They are too accustomed to riding in cars in their cities. When they come back here, they have 500 km under their belts, they know how to march, and mentally they have already become fighters...."

The Penshir is a huge valley, a miniature Switzerland. Massoud, an engineer educated at Kabul's French college, has been master of this region's destiny for 2 years. He has established the structures of a ministate and the Penshir

defies the government. This key province also makes it possible to cut off the Salang Pass, the strategic route used by all convoys from the Soviet Union, and the military airport of Bagram is only a day's march away, the target of numerous raids by rebels who cannot resist the temptation to good-naturedly take potshots at the "Migs" and armored helicopters. But then, psychologically, that must prove the government's ability to control something in a country where everything eludes it.

The Besieged Valley

For a month (15 May/15 June), 12,000 soldiers tried to take over this 125-km-long valley. Hundreds of armored vehicles, dozens of Mig 23's, SU-24's and helicopters --an impressive array of materiel, but totally ineffective and unsuited to this war in the mountains. The Penshir showed the need for resistance unity; it catalyzed all hopes. Volunteers from all over poured into the besieged valley.

"Believe me," I was told later by a doctor practicing in Kandahar, 600 km away, during the same period, "when I saw old pashtoons clench their fists and weep over the struggle and hardships of the Penshir's Tajiks, then yes, I thought that the Afghans were on the road to achieving their greatest victory: over the old demons of division and sterile quarrels."

Diplomatic observers in Kabul estimate the number of Soviet troops killed at nearly 3,000. The capital is presently overflowing with casualties. Tents have been set up in the courtyard of the Akbar Khan Hospital and the coffin factory built in 1980 is operating at full capacity.

But the Penshir also bears the scars of this fierce fighting. Many villages have been razed to the ground. The people are living in outfitted caves, which are perfect shelters against the air raids still carried out with impunity. Carcasses of armored vehicles and helicopter cockpits with blackened girders are strewn along the valley's trails.... Most crops have been destroyed, which will have a disastrous effect on the region's economy. But Massoud's 4,000 rebels are the victors. They have just delivered a stinging setback to the Red Army and looking over their valley that is free of any foreign presence (but until when?), they do not understand that some newspapers have been able to transform their very brief retreat during the first days of fighting into a defeat for the resistance.

"We let them pile up at the end of the valley. Then our fighters opened fire when they were in range. The paratroopers gave us a lot of trouble. Good soldiers, they climbed up the slopes as fast as our own fighters! Courageous men ... but they made a lot of mistakes, such as setting up huge tents for sleeping. That enabled us to kill many soldiers, but 400 of our own will never celebrate our victories again," a sector commander told me.

"Yes, but at the propaganda level they are far ahead of us," Mohamed Yaya, Massoud's brother, added, somewhat disillusioned. "They have manipulated international opinion by broadcasting reports of victories in order to better conceal their setbacks. They have put out a different story of Dr Laurence's achievement, but on a much greater scale."

"El Laurence"

Laurence is Dr Laurence Laumonier, "El Laurence." She has carved out a legend for herself, together with fellow doctor Capucine de Bretagne. We are in the Orient and legends are necessary; and then, words are needed here to make up for other troubles. After being here a year, they have managed to set up a dispensary while distributing hundreds of kg of drugs. The Russians locate and bomb this field hospital. Then the propaganda campaign gets going, spreading thousands of untrue leaflets heaping opprobrium on "the rebel Massoud and his two French whores," accusing him of engaging in all sorts of depravity with his infidel companions. As soon as an offensive is launched, Russian paratroopers first search all villages where the recent presence of the two doctors has been reported. The government wants them, in order to hold a sensational trial, like the ones they know how to concoct in the Soviet world, to show off the "courtesans" of a resistance hero and discredit them, what sweet revenge!

If worst comes to worst, they flee into the night, eluding the "chouravis" by a narrow margin. To put a stop to the gossip and propaganda manipulations which could influence those who are strict followers of a haughty Islam, Massoud has banned the women doctors from entering the Penshir; 350 kg of drugs are waiting to be picked up. This is definitely the only success which the Soviets can brag about!

Back in Pakistan, I learned that a new attack on the Penshir is imminent. Another one! Logar, Parman, Kunduz, Wardak ... some of the spots where there is fighting today. After a blank period due to excessive differences, the resistance has found a second wind since the merger of its most important political parties in an "Islamic alliance." Never has it been so active, so aggressive. God is holding Marx at bay. Ten million Afghans, on their own soil, are still deliberately turning their backs on their government, arrogantly ignoring its directives, its decrees and its laws. It would take a miracle for the Russians to achieve this "impossible normalization," but who in the country of Lenin still dares to believe in miracles?

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FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES ANALYZED

Regarding Arab Disunity

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 964, 13-19 Aug 82 pp 10-14

[Article by Z. Souissi]

[Excerpt] The Algerian Plan

If the Zionist war criminals have been able to act with total impunity, the fault lies mainly with certain Arab governments. The fact that the United States participated to a large extent in the genocidal undertaking is, after all, its own affair. It has an ally and, above all, a strategy in a region in which the Palestinians are not a consideration. History will certainly record its active contribution to the genocide of a people. But once again, that is the affair of the United States. Moreover, we note that neither Reagan nor even the so-called pro-Arab Mr Schultz have lost any sleep over what is happening in Lebanon.

But what is obvious to everyone does not seem to be obvious to certain Arab governments. Which is why we write that they are the ones really responsible for the massacre of Palestinians and progressive Lebanese. And perhaps it is in their interest for the Palestinian resistance to be liquidated, considering the fact that it was impossible to hold a summit to discuss the most urgent problem for the Arab world, whereas certain chiefs of state did not hesitate an instant to join with Rabat in ratifying a plan which provided for capitulation and surrender to the enemy.

A special meeting of Arab foreign affairs ministers was held in Tunis on 27 June with the aim of trying to hold a summit meeting of chiefs of state and heads of government. On that occasion, Algeria submitted a six-point plan that was not adopted. According to the FLN Political Bureau, the plan constituted the "minimum acceptable for Arab unanimity." In view of the hesitations, half-heartedness and even the degree of alliance of certain Arab governments with the United States, the drafters of the Algerian plan wanted to be realistic and try to rally the Arabs around a minimum.

The first point of the plan stipulated: "Unanimous indignation concerning the occupation of an Arab country by a foreign state."

Indignation is the least that could be expected from Arab countries concerning the extent of the aggression and occupation of Lebanon. This point was rejected. In the future, when Israel wants to invade another Arab country, it will be almost certain of not meeting with any unanimous reprisal from those whom it considers its natural enemies.

The second point insists on: "Support for Palestinian and Lebanese fighters."

Rejected! Why? That is very likely one of those mysteries of Arab diplomacy. Until now, everyone thought that support for those in the forefront of defending the honor of Arabs was in the nature of things. Thus if the reason for rejection of this point is sought, it must be concluded that the Arabs no longer want to help Palestinian-progressive fighters. Quite fortunately, each country still has the freedom to act alone. This is the case of Algeria, which has spared no efforts to come to the aid of those facing the Zionist death trap.

The third point is perhaps the one opposed most particularly by those who rejected the Algerian text. It provides for: "Condemnation of the United States' total support of Israel." Lovers of procedure have something to crow about concerning the refusal of Arab foreign affairs ministers to ratify what is a normal, natural and realistic response to American obstinacy. Either some Arabs are blind and do not see the United States' full, total and complete support of Israel or, in spite of that, they refuse to condemn that country, with which they identify, that country which welcomes their petrodollars in order to use them to make bombs which are in turn used to kill innocent civilians in Lebanon.

Our dead heroes must be turning over in their graves because of this attitude, which verges on betrayal. There was a time when such U.S. actions were not only condemned, but opposed with the greatest vigor. In 1967, the United States and the FRG, in particular, were blacklisted by Arab countries, most of which had broken off diplomatic relations with those countries, which are considered allies of the Zionists. Times have changed. Arab solidarity and unanimity are today counterbalanced by the casinos and nightclubs of Las Vegas and Miami.

The Temptation of Camp David

The fourth point, which was also rejected, reaffirmed that "the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Rejection of this point indicates a very sharp setback in relation to the 1972 Rabat Summit, which stressed this obvious fact, i.e., that no party other than the PLO can claim to represent the Palestinians. More and more countries throughout the world are recognizing this fact. Then there are Arabs who do not accept it. This is serious, since such a position is closely akin to the betrayal of Sadat, who in signing the Camp David treaty, agreed not to recognize the organization approved by a plebiscite of all Palestinians, whether in occupied territories or elsewhere.

The fifth point proposed a form of Arab retaliation already successfully tried in 1973: "Adjustment of our economic relations with all countries in accordance with their positions on the Palestinian cause and events in Lebanon."

Like the others preceding it, this point of the Algerian plan was also rejected. The Arabs, who hold significant economic power, thus refused to use it and prefer their own egotistical interests to those of what was long considered the sacred cause of the Arab nation.

The only point approved by the special meeting of Arab foreign affairs ministers was the one concerning: "The dispatch of Arab ministerial delegations to the permanent members of the Security Council."

Taken as a whole, this development is perfectly explicable. Called on to take radical steps, the Arabs would have been obliged to detail their positions precisely. Applied by itself, this point is devoid of any significance. Rather than explaining to the permanent members of the Security Council the bases of the Arab position, the delegates of the Council of Ministers become beggars and complainers.

The rejection of the Algerian text is not an isolated instance. For several years, the Arabs have failed to respond to the Zionist escalation supported by the Americans. The fait accompli of El-Qods, the annexation of the Golan Heights and even the bombing of the Tamuz power plant in Iraq did not meet with firm and unanimous opposition. But it is particularly the Palestinian problem which runs the risk of bearing the brunt of Arab indifference.

If the Palestinians agree to be disarmed and to leave Beirut, what future will their struggle have? Who will be able to assure them of recovering their homeland one day? The Americans? Certainly not....

Words and Actions

Yet this is what some Arab leaders would have us believe, leaders who have insisted that the PLO make concessions without being guaranteed compensation in return. These Arab governments accept leaving everything up to the Americans, while forgetting about all the plots and underhanded blows which they have promoted against the Arabs, particularly in 1953 and 1967.

The blindness of these Arab leaders is explained by the fact that they have permanently linked their fate to that of the United States of America, even if the latter considers them second-class peons. And the root of the problem lies in the nature of these governments, for which power is far more important than their homeland and its higher interests.

This is the whole difference between the policy advocated by the FLN and reaffirmed in the National Charter and the resolutions of the Fourth Party Congress. In our country, it is impossible to imagine an Algerian--whether he is president of the republic or an ordinary citizen--who does consider himself in the service of his country. Each time that danger has been sensed, we have fully established that all Algerians felt concern and were ready to defend their country.

Today, our people are sincerely concerned about what is happening in Lebanon. The battle of Beirut and the heroic resistance of Palestinians-progressives is considered by Algerians as a repetition of the Battle of Algiers. Since

the start of the aggression, Algeria was eager to be present in an effort to provide its participation and assistance in any initiative or action aimed at thwarting the imperialist-Zionist plan for liquidation of the Palestinian people.

Several Algerian missions have been sent to Lebanon. The head of the Permanent Secretariat of the Central Committee of the FLN Party, Mr Messaadia, went to the region to study the situation. Other emissaries, Mr Abdelhamid Mehri and Mr Lakhdar Brahimi, were sent by the president of the republic and general secretary of the FLN Party, to examine, together with the Arab officials facing the enemy, the forms of Algerian assistance and participation in that battle of destiny. In every meeting and in the course of the FLN's bilateral talks with African, Mediterranean or Nonaligned partners, the Palestinian issue was always at the heart of our concerns.

It is not part of our traditions to point out our actions or our support for a just cause. It is in the nature of Algeria and in keeping with its militant past to act without excessive propaganda. For in the case of the Palestinian problem, there are those who act and those who talk and who, according to them, are carrying on their shoulders the whole burden of the struggle.

In the case of Palestine and in the case of all struggles for the liberation and dignity of peoples, Algeria has been present. It has provided diplomatic, material and financial support; it has sent medical missions to Africa (Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, etc.), to Asia and to Latin America. Our army has taken part in the last two Israeli-Arab wars.

Today more than ever, Algeria is prepared--and this was solemnly affirmed by President Chadli Benjedid in the Central Committee's last session and to accredited ambassadors in Arab countries--to put its potentialities in the service of the Palestinian people's struggle and to act in concert with the other member countries of the Arab League in the context of a joint initiative.

In any case, Algeria is firmly resolved to do everything so that the next Arab summit will finally result in a joint Arab reprisal for the attempt of imperialism and Zionism to exterminate the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

Regarding Schemes Against Africa

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 964, 13-19 Aug 82 pp 15-22

[Article by D. Bouatta]

[Excerpts] For many, the 19th OAU Summit is a failure. This is partly true, inasmuch as through the fault of some African governments, independent Africa botched its annual conference for the first time in its 20 years of existence. However, looking very closely, what has just taken place in Tripoli is, in many respects, rather positive. This conference, which, it should be noted, brought together most African states, 31 of the 51 countries comprising the OAU, 25 of which were represented by their chiefs of state, has revealed a

certain number of realities while singling out those governments which are disregarding the higher interest of Africa, its peoples and its Organization.

Everything is now clear. The continent's real stakes are more apparent, the positions of each of the 51 African states are clearer, since their respective commitments have been put to the test, and the alternatives are also better known.

The intrigues of imperialism have now been brought to the attention of every African, as well as the extent of complicity of certain African governments which, from one compromise to the next, have finally sold off the last expedients of patriotism and African solidarity by working without qualification for the achievement of imperialism's plans. Moreover, and this is the most positive aspect of the African conference in Tripoli, this conference, in which "quality prevailed over quantity," showed that Africa is not so committed as might be thought to the appetite of imperialism and the treachery of neocolonialism. Some African countries, it does not matter which ones, are still firmly devoted to the ideals and principles of the OAU despite the defection of some others and despite the powerful means of dissuasion used by imperialism. They constitute the bulwark on which all intrigues deployed against Africa will sooner or later lie broken.

Algeria is among those countries. According to all observers, it is even playing a leading role. The activities revealed in the Libyan capital by President Chadli, the president of the republic and general secretary of the FLN Party, for thwarting the plots hatched against the OAU and African peoples, are themselves indicative of this role, which can be summarized as follows: "Loyalty to commitments, steadfastness of positions and wisdom of attitudes."

This position, which is reflected by President Chadli's statement to the national press before leaving for the Libyan capital: "With regard to Algeria, it will spare no effort to achieve the noble goals to which our peoples aspire and will continue to work side by side with all brothers who have chosen the path of honor, dignity and true independence," was not adopted either yesterday or today. It has always been Algeria's position, since it obtained its independence and indeed even since the launching of its armed revolution on 1 November 1954. That is the guiding principle of Algeria's entire African policy, which should be recalled in this critical stage of African history, not merely as an object of satisfaction but in order to demonstrate once again that the OAU and pan-Africanism will never be vain words as long as countries like ours exist in Africa.

Before examining in detail this policy, which is not only the pride of Algerians but of all African peoples as well and which gives rise to respect and consideration for Algeria in all international meetings, including those attended by imperialists, we must first proceed to analyze the imperialist offensive in Africa in order to further stress that Algeria's African positions are the only sound alternatives to the many plots of which all Africa is the target.

The American Comeback

This imperialist offensive, which began several years ago, since the worsening of the world economic crisis consistent with the categorical refusal of capitalist powers to go along with the Third World in establishing new international relations, and deployed in all areas since U.S. imperialism has acquired an overtly interventionist administration, was also evaluated in all its aspects by the African chiefs of state present in Tripoli. Before going to the Libyan capital, President Chadli actually stated: "My meeting in Tripoli with my brothers will undoubtedly be a valuable opportunity for evaluating the situation, with regard to both the African continent and the serious events facing the Arab world (both situations deriving from each other). It will also be an opportunity for examining appropriate means for strengthening African solidarity and Arab-African solidarity, for the victory of just causes."

The 26 countries that have recognized the SDAR [Saharan Democratic Arab Republic] and the chiefs of state present in Tripoli on 5 August, the date on which the 19th OAU Summit was scheduled to open, also did not fail to note in their respective appeals for African "unity" and "wisdom" all these serious challenges facing the African continent and aimed at replacing its unity and traditional solidarity with disunity, distrust and dissension in order to more lastingly assure the return of imperialism in Africa.

The African continent's situation has reached a critical threshold. It has even gone beyond the crisis point, in all areas.

Politically, the continent has never been so threatened by imperialism and neocolonialism. Imperialist intervention is a daily occurrence. It has led to constant splits, since the SDAR's admission to the OAU in Addis-Ababa in February, between countries concerned about the interests of African peoples and reactionary countries. The worsening of the many centers of crisis and tension in Africa are the most significant signs of this, as well as the crisis shaking the OAU.

Economically, with the exception of a few countries, although the OAU has been in existence for 20 years, we are still wondering where African economic cooperation and measures for economic solidarity are to be found. Even more serious is the fact that the continent's economic growth is declining and agriculture, its key resource, is doing very poorly. There is no getting around the fact that, in general, the continent is still vulnerable to the rapacity of a West that is much more concerned with maintaining its privileges than with the development of African peoples.

In the case of decolonization, the results are relatively identical. Everything is taking place as though the continent were delighted with the status quo, and even its decline, whereas only a final thrust is needed to sweep away the last vestiges of colonialism and racism, in particular in Western Sahara and Namibia, where all the conditions for true decolonization have already existed for a long time.

This situation is the result of U.S. maneuvers to delay and complicate the culmination of national liberation and emancipation struggles, in particular

by strengthening reactionary African regimes, as a result of which a kind of "strategic consensus" is being achieved, which, in close relationship to that being completed in the Arab world, is destined to obstruct the development and advancement of progressive and nationalistic African ideas and experiments, as well as African unity's transition from its stage of political and diplomatic solidarity to the construction of African unity based on the enduring foundations of complementary and multilateral cooperation, as advocated by the Movement of Nonaligned Nations, endorsed by the OAU and implemented by countries such as Algeria with its African and other partners. Such U.S. intervention is nothing new in itself, for the United States has always sought to assure its interests in Africa.

On the other hand, what is new is the extent of its intervention and its eminently aggressive nature. What is the explanation for this? First of all, the decline in support from its French and English subcontractors in Africa, each for its own reasons, was unable to stop the liberation movement in its own "private reserves." Secondly, there is the deterioration of the crisis in international relations and especially of the world capitalist system itself, which is no longer able to reproduce itself and whose arms race in the Third World, particularly in Africa, constitutes a life raft as well as a return to direct exploitation.

In the case of Africa, this new policy of U.S. imperialism is being implemented by strengthening a certain number of African regimes which harbored feelings of "friendship" or indeed of allegiance toward the United States and through so-called measures to counter Soviet influence in Africa, but which are actually aimed at countering situations whose internal and external effects would be detrimental to U.S. economic, political and military interests in Africa and to dealing a setback to African national revolutions in order to make them submit to the imperialist diktat, if not to weaken them in order to deal a harsh blow at the same time to both the OAU and Nonaligned Movement, the only alternatives capable of breaking imperialist domination. Thus as a result of military "aid," the IMF's financial resources and the great Arab moneylender that is Saudi Arabia, the United States has strengthened desperate regimes such as Zaire, Morocco and still others which, in return, have been assigned the mission of increasing and deepening African differences and paralyzing the OAU.

Completion of the decolonization process in Africa has also been blocked as a result of U.S. involvement. In Namibia, the Reagan administration on every occasion has thwarted the UN conferences assigned to watch over that country's progress toward independence, has strengthened the racist and colonialist South African Government in its refusals and evasiveness and has encouraged it in its aggression against front-line countries, particularly Angola, and is using the same Namibian card in an effort to destabilize all of southern Africa again. In Western Sahara, everyone knows that the Moroccan Government is holding on only as a result of direct U.S. intervention, which has made it a leader in the redeployment of U.S. imperialism in northwest Africa and in the southern Mediterranean.

The American breakthrough in Africa is so profound that we are now witnessing the reestablishment of Zionism in Africa. Zaire has now taken the first step

by reestablishing relations with the Zionist government. Not only has this caused a rift in African-Palestinian solidarity just when the Palestinian people are the target of a monstrous extermination campaign in Lebanon and occupied Palestine by the Zionist government, but it is also intended to assure the existence of the racist South African Government, whose system of apartheid also resembles the Zionist system in all respects. The failure of the 9th OAU Summit can also be directly attributed to U.S. imperialism, which, using the pretexts of the SDAR's admission to the OAU and the choice of Libya, "that den of international terrorism," as the headquarters of the OAU presidency, ordered its African allies, or its African debtors, to boycott the Tripoli conference outright.

This vast and profound American penetration of the African continent, now manifesting itself in U.S. interference in African affairs, has obviously occurred only because there are a certain number of African regimes favorable to the new views of U.S. imperialism. It should be pointed out that the fate of these regimes is directly tied to a foreign umbrella, in this instance the U.S. umbrella, i.e., these governments do not rest on national foundations, on any sort of national consensus, but rather on military agreements with a foreign power, if not in the very least as a result of its financial aid.

Otherwise, how is it possible to explain their complicity in the OAU's paralysis and the attempts to destroy it, which despite its weaknesses remains the most effective instrument for strengthening, if not preserving, African national sovereignties and achieving African people's aspirations for dignity and liberation? Moreover, how is it possible to explain their attempts to establish a kind of cold-war climate in Africa, especially if Africa were actually to be split into two fiercely rival groups?

Militancy Forged in the November Revolution

This is why African countries aware of the dangers which may result from the establishment of such disunity continue to appeal to the responsibility of those governments which have replaced the policy of dialogue, as a result of which Africa has remained united, at least until now, regarding the most serious problems threatening its existence and as a result of which Africa has also become a group recognized in major international conferences, in the United Nations and elsewhere, with the "empty chair" policy that leads straight to disunity, paralysis and destruction of the OAU, and which heralds an era of turbulence, unrest or even fratricidal wars whose sole single beneficiary would be imperialism. This position, shared by the states present in Tripoli, is not a "sign of weakness," as President Chadli personally made a point of mentioning before leaving Algiers for the Libyan capital. It is a sign of "wisdom" and "clear-sightedness," required of course by the critical circumstances of the current African situation, which is fraught with serious dangers for the immediate future of the unity of African peoples as well as for the conviction that Africa is destined to overcome this difficult stage in its affairs, in particular in its common destiny and the infusion of its peoples with the ideals and principles of the OAU.

In this regard, Algeria is one of the few African countries that believes sincerely and firmly in the virtues of pan-Africanism, in African solidarity

based on respect for the will of peoples and their national choices, and which is militating unrelentingly "for total respect for the OAU Charter and its peaceful resolutions of African problems in order to establish solid foundations of sincere and beneficial cooperation for the continent's peoples."

Algeria has actually always directed most of its African efforts toward completing the decolonization process to free African peoples from colonial and racist domination. All its initiatives, bilateral or within the OAU and other international organizations, have contributed--and are still contributing--to the reinforcement and cohesion of the anticolonialist and anti-racist front in Africa. These actions have been supported by the use of solid measures for both liberation and protecting and strengthening political independence, as well as for the economic and social emancipation of African peoples through the establishment of economic relations based on complementarity, solidarity and the mutual interests of partners. It has thus encouraged all initiatives aimed at strengthening the OAU and its various structures, of which it is a founding member.

All of this means that Algeria occupies a position of leadership in the vast process of liberation, a role recognized by all African peoples and most African governments and which, historically, dates back to the period of the birth of modern African nationalisms, a period which only just preceded the launching of the armed Algerian Revolution.

Algeria's role in the summit conferences and ministerial meetings of Saharan states alone expresses its determination to strengthen its good-neighbor relations with its immediate neighbors and to promote regional cooperation at the same time. This policy is based on the OAU Charter's principles focusing in particular on the inviolability of borders. It is because Algeria is still firmly committed to this principle that it has contributed materially and politically to the Saharan people's fight against the expansionist aims of their Moroccan neighbor and why it has constantly denounced the policy of force and expansion which has emerged in the Maghreb and which has invalidated the game rules of inter-Maghrebian cooperation. In view of this dangerous development, Algeria could only reaffirm its revolution's steadfast goals, which are basically incompatible with any recovery attempt by the imperialism of neighboring countries to put in place strategic plans on the scale of the vast African-Atlantic-Mediterranean region. In this context, it has concluded treaties of good neighborliness, brotherhood and cooperation with all its African partners. President Chadli's visit to 11 African capitals in the spring of 1981 also helped to strengthen Algerian-African ties of friendship, solidarity and cooperation. Every joint communique signed at that time actually included the firm determination to develop African cooperation and to complete the decolonization of Africa, as well as the concern for strengthening and promoting peace and security in Africa within the framework of the OAU, which is essential to any development and the guarantor of African sovereignty and independence. This view of things, that solidarity and cooperation in complementarity are the only ways to guarantee the independence of Africa and that of the entire Third World, has also led Algeria to favor the establishment of economic relations between Africa and the Arab World, relations which have found their full expression in the establishment of institutions of cooperation between the Arab League and the OAU. Algeria does

not consider such cooperation to be a choice of circumstances, but rather a strategic option.

Algeria's African orientation is even more evident upon analyzing its economic receptiveness and the nature of the cooperation which it has established with African countries. Actually, if an impressive number of resolutions calling for inter-African cooperation have been passed in the OAU, few countries have faithfully launched into the "horizontal experiment," i.e., South-South cooperation between developing countries. Algeria is practically the only African country to have behaved in this way with the largest possible number of African partners. With each of them, it has sought to establish economic and cultural exchanges on the basis of mutual interests and mutual experience. Thus with each partner, regardless of its political choices, Algeria has first set up a mixed commission to examine each one's potential and its real possibilities of exchange, and then to prepare an annual or biennial program of cooperation, and finally, to attend to its implementation. Rather significant results have been obtained, although they are still inconclusive because of the existence of numerous obstacles hostile to the exclusion of middlemen in inter-African cooperation. It must be acknowledged that African countries are still isolated from each other because of a lack of communications and in many of them, trade is still in the hand of foreign corporations. However, Algeria did not fail on each occasion to pass on, at the request of its partners, its experience in economic and commercial areas, in particular by sending Algerian experts to African national corporations and establishing semipublic corporations. To strengthen and promote Algerian-African cooperation, Algeria has instituted communications with sub-Saharan Africa. Whether in the case of air, sea or land links, Algeria has made considerable efforts in recent years.

These are Algeria's African goals and if it takes so much interest in African problems, it is quite simply because it is, above all, an "African country and as a revolutionary country, it assumes well-defined responsibilities concerning African peoples who are struggling for their liberty and prosperity," just as the Algerian people are doing.

Regarding Schemes Against Nonalignment

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 964, 13-19 Aug 82 pp 23-29

[Article by R. Hassani]

[Excerpts] There are probably few chances that the Seventh Nonaligned Summit will be held in Baghdad in September as scheduled, since the continuing Iraqi-Iranian armed conflict prevents the required combination of all conditions for the success of that conference, whose agenda will necessarily be of the utmost importance not only for the Nonaligned Movement itself, but also for all Third World peoples and states. In fact, the critical point which international relations have reached in general, solely as a result of the vast and profound global offensive of U.S. imperialism, most of whose brunt is being borne by the Third World because of its economic fragility, makes it imperative to safeguard and strengthen unity and solidarity among those nations, most of which belong to the Nonaligned Movement. The Seventh Nonaligned Summit

must therefore be held to assess the international situation and that of its members and to determine the ways and means required to provide the most acceptable solutions for each, solutions based on the principles of independence, freedom of political choice, nonintervention in the internal affairs of others, mutually beneficial cooperation and militant solidarity with just causes. This has been the purpose of the many journeys in recent weeks by delegations representing the movement's most active members. There is also already some talk of reasonably transferring the conference to New Delhi, a location also favored by Iraqi and Cuban (who are currently discharging the movement's presidency) emissaries. In any case, this initiative falls within the province of the movement's Office of Coordination which, as it happens, is scheduled to meet soon to decide between transferring or postponing this initial Seventh Nonaligned Summit. The agenda of this conference will be drawn up beforehand by the UN ambassadors representing the member countries of the Office [of Coordination].

Algeria, a founder of the Nonaligned Movement, an active militant in applying its principles and a member of its Office of Coordination, is making very great efforts to assure the full functioning of the movement itself. It therefore maintains continual contact with the countries most concerned with holding the Seventh Nonaligned Summit and its representatives have been sent all over the Third World to try to lend the movement a little more vigor in organizing as many of its members as possible, especially since it is threatened by maneuvers which are completely identical to those that prevented the normal development of the 19th OAU Summit in Tripoli. Such action, which constitutes one of the principal foundations of Algerian foreign policy, is being undertaken by both the FLN Party and the government under the personal leadership of President Chadli, the president of the republic and general secretary of the FLN Party, who also took advantage of his visit to the Libyan capital, at the time of the attempts made by African countries most devoted to the ideals of pan-Africanism to hold the 19th OAU Summit, to hold talks with his African peers regarding the Nonaligned Movement as well. Algeria stresses that efforts should be made by anyone and everyone so that the Nonaligned Movement does not suffer fate of the OAU, for U.S. imperialism also has its eye on the movement as well. Its offensive to split, if not to paralyze, the movement began when Havana was chosen to accommodate the presidency of the Sixth Nonaligned Summit and it was only as a result of the unqualified efforts of countries such as Algeria, India and Yugoslavia that that conference was able to be held and that the movement's fragmentation was avoided. This has always been the position of Algeria, for whom nonalignment is the only alternative which can enable Third World peoples and countries to wrest their rights to independence and development and to exist with dignity and progress.

Independence, sovereignty, solidarity with oppressed peoples and all just causes, equitable and multilateral cooperation, peace--these are not false ideas, but rather the major principles on which Algeria's foreign policy has always been based. Taken individually in their context, these principles are actually the result of a political awareness which for nearly 30 years has dictated our country's necessary vision and approach to the world. Analyzed in detail, this foreign policy gives consideration to the noblest goals, which have won for us over the last two decades much praise and, let us be frank, animosity as well.

Third-Worldist: Progressive Algeria has always preferred to carry out its regional and international actions as an entity denying neither its modest capabilities nor its geopolitical origins, in order to confront the many serious problems with which it is involved, near or far, as a result of its commitments as an anticolonialist, anti-imperialist and genuinely nonaligned country. The experience acquired in its national liberation struggle has, in any case, been a healthy lesson for Algeria, while serving as an example for many peoples in their struggle for sacred freedom. The great Third World family, with which Algeria claims kinship, is the one which, like it or not, continues to unsettle the foundation of a sick world suffering from lethargy, egotism and injustice.

Responsible: Algeria has never hidden the fact that it is hostile to extremism and is thus eager to show that, quite to the contrary, the whole validity and reason for being of its fight against all the scourges of the monopolist world lie in its faith in active and consequently positive nonalignment. A non-aligned nation, the policy dominating Algeria's relations with the rest of the world is irreversible, because it is absolutely faithful to its principles.

These altogether tangible principles have also characterized the entire war of national liberation and the 20 years of independence. There is a kind of natural and historical link between the foundations of our foreign policy and those motivating the nonaligned philosophy. This deeply spontaneous spirit, which has wedded Algerian diplomacy with the dominant ideas of what was the positive neutralism of the 1950's and which became nonalignment, derives its motivation from a very simple reality. It is fortunate that the Algerian people's struggle against French colonialism has long basically identified with the struggle of a large part of humanity under the yoke of foreign domination. Hopes of liberty, dignity and equality among peoples have, throughout the 20th century, undergone a series of convergences, which in 1982 are still at the center of the legitimate concerns of many peoples who are oppressed, at the expense of basic progressive principles throughout the world.

Without Qualification

The fight of the Algerian people, begun by the National Liberation Front, rests to a large degree on the ideals which have given birth to nonalignment and have helped to make it an ideological platform intended to channel a vast trend toward change and transformation in the three areas of politics, economics and culture. The actions of rebel, and then independent, Algeria lie within the domain of this radical change in the ratio of power, thus desiring to demonstrate its firm determination not only to recover its own personality, which has been ridiculed, but also to help brother peoples of the Third World and to make the world a haven of peace, understanding and active solidarity. Thus from the Bandung conference to the Havana summit, or within a span of three decades, Algeria's contribution to strengthening the ranks and carrying out the goals of nonalignment has been made uninterruptedly.

While remaining strictly loyal to its initial commitments, Algerian diplomacy will work unremittingly to broaden and strengthen the ties uniting the great nonaligned family. While providing constant proof of its efforts to fortify the spirit and policy of nonalignment, in relation to the many international issues, it should be pointed out that it was right after the Fourth Summit at

Algiers in 1973 that nonalignment went through a stage which some observers do not hesitate to describe as crucial in the life of the movement. Formerly "labeled" a positive neutralism, active nonalignment took precise shape with this Fourth Summit held in the Algerian capital. In fact, it was at that time that Algerians, aware of the role which they had inherited in constant organization of the movement and its influence in a world context with complex features, introduced into the debate a series of pragmatic approaches intended to vitalize the movement by enriching the philosophy of nonalignment. Both relevant and obvious at the same time, these measures were actually meant as a response to the criticism of monolithism, of which the movement's program of action was the target.

It was not without a certain degree of self-interest that the Algerian initiatives stressed the universalist concept of peaceful coexistence and the universal nature of detente and dialogue. The same is true with regard to general and total disarmament in favor of international cooperation and the vital need to oppose, if not to denounce, acts of aggression, foreign occupation and all forms of interference. From the Algerian viewpoint, which is also unanimously shared, the total achievement and continual maintenance of peace and security in the world require the freedom of peoples and respect for their sovereignty. Eliminating colonialism, racism and apartheid must remain one of the fundamental goals of the Nonaligned Movement. Of course, this implies unqualified support for liberation movements the world over. Nor must we lose sight of the fact that the ideas and principles of nonalignment, by eliminating all forms of domination, tend to favor the democratization of international relations and help to solve major world problems in peace and justice.

Peace and Justice

What is apparent from all these points? That, a priori, the policy of nonalignment can only be a reflection of peoples' present-day longings for development and economic progress. This also shows: a coupling of international relations and the fight against underdevelopment; the world character of nonalignment for wiping out imperialist policy and economic domination; a fight against all hegemonistic and exploitive economic positions within the international community and against any violation of sovereignty in the case of natural resources; a true international strategy of development in keeping with the aspirations and needs of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America; a new equitable and durable international monetary and commercial system; the participation of nonaligned countries in the profound changes in world economic relations within the framework of international organizations; international cooperation for the economic progress of developing countries in the interest of the entire international community; sovereignty and development as the sole, same means of combat for nonaligned countries.*

At the time of the Fourth Summit in Algiers, Algerians pointed out that the principles of nonalignment constitute precisely the strong points of their foreign policy, i.e.: The policy of nonalignment must identify with the world's just causes; the Nonaligned Movement must fight for the achievement of an inter-

*Information document, Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

national community with equal rights and equal responsibilities for all countries; the policy of nonalignment must open the way to justice, peace and economic progress; nonalignment must be the political expression of the Third World's struggle and aspirations and can thus become the moral and political force of the world of tomorrow; the liberation of all peoples from imperialist domination and exploitation, the transformation of international conduct on the basis of sovereignty and equal rights and an end to developed countries' economic domination of underdeveloped countries are, among others, some of Algerian foreign policy's principles, which nonalignment must always pursue in the interest of justice, peace, security and cooperation in the world.*

Significant efforts are currently being made to develop cooperation between Algeria and other nonaligned countries. This policy of openness concerning nonaligned countries and the Third World in general has found new vitality following President Chadli's visit and there is no doubt that henceforth it will be the main component of Algerian foreign policy. First of all, because it enables Algeria to broaden its relations with ever more numerous partners and to give concrete shape to its concern for putting its economy beyond external pressures. Secondly, because its policy of nonalignment and militant solidarity with the Third World therein finds lasting bases for its application. The deepening of its nonalignment and solidarity could not proceed without the development of such economic cooperation, known as South-South cooperation.

The development of Algeria's trade with the Third World has shown a rapid increase, but it is nevertheless still insufficient, since channels remain to be established for this type of trade. To this end, mixed commissions have been established by Algeria with its various partners in recent years to further develop trade with African, Asian and Latin American countries, in most cases accompanied by technological agreements and covenants.

The cooperation between Algeria, Yugoslavia and India provides a good example in this regard. The volume and quality of trade between Algeria and its Yugoslav and Indian partners, based on complementarity and mutual interests in the areas of both trade and technological cooperation and which has gradually increased, will enter an even more dynamic phase following President Chadli's visits. The respective abilities of these countries, at the outposts of the Nonaligned Movement and promoters of South-South cooperation, are in fact diversified enough today to provide for significant transfers of technology and professional knowledge. The developed countries use trade just as measures of coercion and for seizing control of Third World economies and maintaining the present economic system, which they continue to impose.

The most exhaustive assessment of Algeria's contribution to strengthening the Nonaligned Movement would be insufficient for reflecting its vitality and effectiveness, which have internationally established the image of a country working untiringly to define and build a more just and more confident world. The steadfastness of its positions of principle has given Algeria a

*Information document, Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

strategic position in the liberation and emancipation movements of Third World peoples. And its geographic position makes it even more important. Algeria is a hinge between two worlds, that of European developed countries and that of the peoples of Africa and the Arab world. The Mediterranean is the meeting point of three continents--Europe, Africa and Asia, the meeting point between capitalist countries, the Arab world and socialist countries. The presence of the U.S. Sixth Fleet testifies to the strategic importance of the Mediterranean. Algeria's militant efforts in favor of African, Asian and Latin American peoples can only continue to develop, guided by the principles for the defense of just causes and respect for which can only, from experience, lend credibility to the actions undertaken and based on their effectiveness. There is nothing circumstantial about this Algerian approach. It is a result of Algeria's permanent conviction that nonalignment, despite all the obstacles involved, remains the sole means for the liberation of peoples.

Regarding Economic Aggression

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 964, 13-19 Aug 82 pp 30-34

[Article by Yacine Ould-Moussa]

[Text] The Zionist aggression in Lebanon and the U.S. positions from which it has benefited diplomatically, militarily and logistically have glaringly demonstrated, except to those stricken with political blindness, the extent to which U.S. imperialism's appetite continues to grow for the Third World, in particular for Africa and the Arab world, especially during this troubled period of world economic crisis and international military conflicts.

The Reagan administration has not gone about this in a roundabout way. The 1960's are long gone. The political independence of formerly colonized Third World countries led to a period of struggle whose main characteristic was the reorganization of international economic relations through abolishment of the old order of domination, exploitation and the plunder of resources. The attempts of Third World countries to unite and regroup within the framework of specific movements, institutions or organizations have produced uneven results with time and in the common overall perception of problems and their solutions.

The Reagan administration wants to reestablish the values and mechanisms that were the strength, substance and power of imperialism. We are witnessing a great attempt to "regain control" politically, militarily and economically.

The subversion, pressures and access to markets and the aggressive penetration of multinational corporations in Africa, Asia and Latin America have shown a sharp revival orchestrated by the U.S. strategy of redeployment.

In regard to this redeployment, what response and what behavior have been adopted by Third World countries: Nonaligned countries, OAU members, OPEC members, Arab League members, etc.? The economic situation in the countries of the South continues to deteriorate; all attempts to break up the mechanisms for the plunder and transfer of wealth have been greatly weakened and reduced to formal positions.

The case of oil-exporting countries is instructive in this regard. We need only point out the drop in OPEC production, which has declined from 30 million barrels/day to 17 million barrels/day in less than 2 years. The overproduction maintained by the large producers has served only to facilitate the achievement of multinational corporations' plans, which have thus stockpiled huge supplies subsequently used to drive down prices and divide OPEC.

The level of numerous countries' oil revenues was seriously affected in 1981 and the first half of 1982, forcing them to make distressing adjustments and regulations of their economic and social policies. The most significant example is Nigeria (80 million inhabitants), which has had to bear the full brunt of the drop in oil prices.

The Persian Gulf countries have also had problems. In Kuwait, the budget deficit is reportedly more than \$3.5 billion. The Arab Emirates are innovating for the first time, preparing an unbalanced budget. In Libya, the 5-year development plan (1981-85) has been frozen and the government has stopped concluding numerous contracts while reducing imports. In Venezuela, public expenditures are down 16.5 percent in comparison to the previous year. In Indonesia--with 150 million inhabitants--the recorded deficit comes to \$1 billion for the 1981-82 fiscal year.

Overall, this year will be penalized by a considerable deficit, except in the case of Saudi Arabia, because of its volume of production. And to think that in 1981, OPEC countries had a surplus of \$58 billion.

This brief survey of the results of the Reagan administration's schemes and pressures in the oil market, thanks to the obvious complicity of certain governments, alone demonstrates the extent and nature of the problems facing those who intend to break up the old order.

If the situation is difficult for oil-exporting countries, it is even more serious for the other Third World countries, as a result of the twofold effect of the world economic crisis and political subversion. The Third World's foreign debt has tripled in 6 years, reaching \$525 billion in late 1981 as opposed to \$180 billion in late 1975, according to statistics of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

A more significant phenomenon than the actual debt increase is the Third World's heavier debt burden, which quintupled during the same period. Debt servicing actually increased from \$26 billion in late 1975 to \$109 billion in late 1981.

Most (85 percent) of this amount is comprised of export credits and loans on international transactions.

In 1981, the leading debtor countries, Brazil and Mexico, alone accounted for 25 percent of the Third World's total foreign debt servicing. Low-income countries next represented 17 percent of the total debt of developing countries, but only 7 percent of the total debt servicing (the shares of the least advanced countries are respectively 3 and 1 percent). As for the World Bank, it has just shown that it is undoubtedly in the service of big capital by increasing its arsenal of restrictive measures concerning Third World countries. It lends

to them at a variable rate of interest, revised every 6 months, based on the cost of the respective country's total debt.

Moreover, it will be using short-term loans in addition to traditional medium- and long-term loans. The World Bank's current loans to developing countries represent about \$30 billion. But their average rate of interest is about 8.5 percent, although during the last 12 months the international loans granted by the World Bank for obtaining capital have shown a much higher average rate of interest, close to 11 percent.

This alignment of approximately 11.43 percent of the World Bank's rates constitutes an increase in the cost of money for developing countries and adds to their financial burden and debt. The laws of a market controlled by U.S. financial and monetary institutions work fully and completely against developing countries.

The Third World, and particularly Africa, constitute a huge market for U.S. economic-interest groups and the redeployment of imperialism.

In 1979, trade with Africa amounted to \$29.7 billion, or about 7.6 percent of U.S. foreign trade, as opposed to 3 percent in 1970, amounting to \$3 billion. In 1979, Nigeria alone accounted for 35 percent of U.S. purchases in Africa. U.S. multinational corporations siphon off the bulk of African basic resources to make up for the U.S. market's shortage or to help to assure the operation of a vital sector of its industrial apparatus.

As part of an almost systematic policy of plunder, U.S. importers, with the help of local private and government investors in Africa, are siphoning off most minerals, which are essential to their advanced technology industries.

Columbium, manganese, cobalt, chromium, bauxite, platinum, antimony, gold, petroleum, the African soil and subsoil are supplying the cash flows of U.S. companies.

As a nonproducer of chromium, which is necessary for the production of stainless steel, the United States is forced to import 91 percent of its needs. Until 1975, South Africa and the former Rhodesia respectively provided it with 24 and 12 percent of its imports. Forced to import 98 percent of its cobalt requirements, the United States has turned to Zaire (37 percent) and Belgium (22 percent), itself an importer from its former colony. Zaire and Zambia together account for 23 percent of the world's cobalt reserves.

Short of manganese, the United States buys 99 percent of its needs for processing industries, 32 percent from Gabon and 12 percent from South Africa. Essential for military applications and telecommunications, Guinean bauxite accounts for 16 percent of the 85 percent of U.S. imports. Africa alone extracts 10 percent of world production.

We could cite even more examples in which African raw materials are used to swell the coffers of multinational corporations, which sell their equipment and technology for as much as they can to developing countries, in return for political allegiances and on draconian, unfair financial terms.

Blocking any Attempt at Dialogue and Cooperation

In its renewed intensity, U.S. imperialism is exacting a high price for the adjustments essential for its redeployment, not only in developing countries but also in Europe and Japan. Interest rates, licenses for the European-Soviet gas pipeline, the steel war and many other forms of pressure are being used to enable the Reagan administration to focus its economic and political power on the very foundations of "liberalism." Thus in such a policy, it is understandable why there is a rejection of the attempt at dialogue and international cooperation, which would transfer decision-making centers beyond U.S. control.

It is actually a question of a political struggle and political domination which some are trying to perpetuate and others are trying to break. The refusal of the United States, with the complicity of certain reactionary Third World countries, to let the North-South dialogue culminate in tangible results during this crisis period constitutes an instrument for exploiting all effects of the world crisis on every political, diplomatic and economic level.

In view of this intransigence, the North-South dialogue requires unfailing unity of action and thought from Third World countries if they want to control their destinies and forge their futures. Since the failure of the conference on international economic cooperation in Paris in 1977, the North-South dialogue, or at least what has the appearance of a dialogue, has been deadlocked. No notable progress has been made during conferences such as the Third Session of UNIDO [United Nations Industrial Development Organization] in New Delhi in January 1980, at the Fifth UNCTAD Conference in Manila in 1979 and at Cancun in 1981.

For both the affluent and the impoverished, priorities are clear. Monetary stability, energy supplies and international trade are the prime topics on which all countries must speak out to emerge from the impasse. If the priorities are obvious to everyone, the approach to finding solutions has not yet gained either unanimity or a majority.

Burying basic issues in procedural considerations and avoiding a timetable of solutions are all part of the arsenal of obstructive measures maintained by the United States and its satellites.

The decade of development, the 1970's, has failed. The current decade has the same problems and same obstacles. Western powers are opposed to transferring the authority of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, the IMF and the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] to the "Central Forum," the institution proposed by developing countries for negotiating and arbitrating the North-South dialogue under the aegis of the United Nations.

Actually, this dispute over procedures is only a facade; the reality is that capitalist powers persist in ignoring the problems facing the underdeveloped world: hunger, poverty, sickness and ignorance.

With regard to monetary relations and financing, the IMF's current operation has been vigorously brought to the fore by Third World countries. Supported

by Great Britain, the FRG and Japan, the United States has refused to accede to developing countries' demands for making international credit programs more flexible and has therefore insisted that the IMF retain its current structures and maintain a strict monetary policy to combat inflation, even if that would handicap the most underprivileged countries.

The example of Jamaica is instructive in this regard. In 1977, the IMF granted a \$77-million loan, which was later canceled on the pretext that Jamaica had not adhered to the negotiated conditions. Then in 1978, the IMF tried to require that it suspend its relations with socialist countries in order to be granted a loan for the purchase of foodstuffs and manufactured goods of U.S. origin. Peru's experience in the 1970's is instructive concerning what was considered the "failure of the revolution of nationalist military officers." Peru had to make an about-face in its development plans just because of the IMF's draconian measures against popular governments, which finally jeopardized the achievements of the Peruvian Revolution.

In brief, there is no shortage of examples to illustrate the goals and approaches of the hegemonistic strategy of the United States and its satellites.

The West spends \$500 billion on arms each year, while "splitting hairs" over the amount of public aid for development and avoiding having to tackle the underlying causes of the present crisis. The developed capitalist countries have also reduced their public aid to developing countries by 4 percent and short-term prospects are hardly favorable because of the continuing crisis.

In 1981, the public aid expenditures of the Development Committee's 17 member countries, members of the OECD, amounted to \$25.37 billion, or \$1 billion less than in 1980.

This decline in aid is a result of the economic recession and restrictive budgetary policies, but it is also a result of the soaring value of the dollar, which has risen an average of 13 percent in relation to other Western currencies.

Between the Complicity of Some and the Determination of Others

With the complicity of satellite states, U.S. imperialism is eliminating all attempts at cooperation with the North and those between countries of the South. Creating conflicts, manipulating interest rates, selling arms, blocking any process of agreement or consensus and exerting pressure on governments by means of a few million dollars are some of the weapons in the U.S. arsenal for perpetuating, strengthening and expanding the old order.

The poor countries are not as impoverished as it is said; however, it is true that if political determination is lacking, it is difficult to counter the divisive and domineering schemes undertaken by the order's supporters.

In view of this situation, nonaligned countries, African countries and Arab countries have a heavy responsibility concerning the expansion of imperialist redeployment. These countries have effective weapons for frustrating the repeated assaults of imperialism. These weapons potentially exist. Their use requires, above all, a political commitment to serve the cause of Third World peoples and not those of multinational corporations.

The Nonaligned Movement countries and the Group of "77" have set in motion a process of struggle for reorganizing the world economy. The difficulties deriving from the international division of labor and the configuration of trade have induced many Third World countries to form associations in order to give real content to their political compatibility.

The trend toward regionalization or association of countries with similar interests has also induced Third World countries to turn to such groups.

The effectiveness and duration of these groups have been very uneven, but above all, they have constituted a framework and an opportunity for assessing the problems encountered by sovereign states in developing and implementing new trade relations to serve the rationale of their own socioeconomic development and promotion. One of the ways to smash imperialist hegemony today is by achieving tangible, lasting and efficient South-South cooperation in keeping with the needs of Third World countries and their material and human capabilities.

South-South cooperation has given preference to the areas which today constitute the fronts of a difficult fight on the battlefields of international economic realities. For both Nonaligned Movement countries and the Group of "77," the preferred areas of cooperation, the theaters of war, are of twofold importance, from the basic point of view as well as the negotiating power of Third World countries.

In fact, South-South cooperation offers not only prospects for national development and negotiation with the North, but also countless opportunities for innovating and exploring new ways to create jobs and to improve working and living conditions. The example of the many agreements between India, Algeria and several African countries illustrates quite well the nature of this movement, which must be strengthened in order to get beyond imperialist pressures and control.

The keystone of the whole process which the South is trying to initiate, and is initiating, is still basically the political aspect, which ultimately remains the brake or accelerator of this same movement for the socioeconomic development and improvement of Third World countries.

The political aspect cannot by any means be dissociated from all of the other considerations, for it constitutes the very stakes in all the intrigues and upheavals observed throughout the world.

The political aspect, the ultimate determining factor of the ability of Third World, African and Arab countries to protect their political and economic independence, today shows us how intense are the contradictions caused by the complicity of some and the determination of others to gain control of their destiny based on their peoples' choices. The latest episode in this long series of contradictions and conflicts has also laid bare each party's positions and the abilities for giving concrete shape to the solidarity and community of interests of Third World peoples in the face of imperialist actions. This latest episode is that of the Lebanese tragedy and Palestinian genocide.

Are nonaligned, African, Arab or other countries really powerless to retaliate against the Zionist attacks and their U.S. ally? Don't Arab countries, in particular, have the means to exert pressure on the West to vindicate their rights and those of the Palestinian people?

The Sole Condition: Political Determination

Have nonaligned, African and Arab countries assessed their economic power for putting an end to Zionist aggression? Isn't it possible for Arab countries to utilize their economic and financial potential to influence the attitude of the Zionist protector, i.e., U.S. imperialism?

These are some of the questions which amply put into perspective the complicity of some and the determination of others. In the past, vigorous measures and actions were taken to give countries of the Third World and the Arab world their rightful place. The oil weapon used in 1973 was undeniably effective and everyone began to listen to and understand the desires of Arab, African and Third World peoples.

The conflict born of Zionist aggression must lead to a movement in which all possibilities of action and pressure must be explored and exploited in order to put an end to Zionist crimes, subversion in Africa and the destabilization of Third World countries.

While imperialism continues its race toward new conquests, it is the wealth of the Third World, Africa and the Arab world that is feeding its coffers and fueling its power.

In the case of the Arab nation, it may rightfully be asked where Arab funds and petrodollars are going. In what banks are they deposited and what interests are they serving? Surplus oil revenues, and this is no secret to anyone, go to increase the "financial cushions" of U.S. and Western banks, which gives them matchless power to act in the service of hegemonies and the political domination of Arab peoples.

Haven't we observed how some Arab countries have continued to swell Western oil stocks, to the point of weakening and almost destroying OPEC? Money, oil, policy and alliance serve to increase U.S. imperialism's control in the Middle East, Africa and the Third World.

In exchange for military protection of regimes that are shaky and anachronistic in relation to the wishes of Arab peoples, all the economic and political potential of certain Arab countries is on the side of Zionism, neocolonialism, available to groups with interests opposed to the interests of peoples.

That is the content of a criminal complicity whose current victims are Lebanon and the Palestinians. Whose turn will it be tomorrow? Is the survival of peoples worth more than a few tons of arms, a few million dollars to buy silence concerning peoples who are struggling to live free? Is it worth more than a few shaky, bloodstained crowns? The Tripoli Summit demonstrated that the forms of persuasion could be imagined at will. The main thing is that as a result of some, the SDAR continues to be treated as a liberation

movement and not as a sovereign state attacked by a U.S. satellite in the Maghreb. A few million dollars here, a few sophisticated aircraft there, a few promises for the future and the silence of some is bought like copper on the London stock exchange.

Arab silence, African absence, the hesitation of other Third World countries. What does it matter if all that is in line with the same strategy and the same philosophy, that of the domination, spoliation and plunder of peoples. Those who have acted in complicity with imperialism and Zionism will in turn be "devoured" by their masters in order to become better slaves or they will be swept aside as soon as the interests linking them to their protectors fail to exist. The memory of peoples is indelible when it is a matter of the blood of their own sons. Everyone admits that the means of combat exist and that they are very important. But it must also be acknowledged that it is united political determination which is most conspicuously lacking. That is a fact. And regardless of the accounts which may be held in U.S. or Western banks, a day will come when those accounts will be balanced by the determination of peoples.

11915

CSO: 4519/293

CHIEF RELIGIOUS DISSIDENT VISITS MOSLEM ACTIVISTS IN PRISON

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3020, 27 Aug 82 pp 30,31

/Article by Yusuf Fikri and Ahmad Abu Kaff: "'Umar al-Talmasani in a Conversation with the Islamic Groups in Turah Prison'"/

/Text/ Mr 'Umar al-Talamsani came to Turah Penitentiary. He came to it not as he had in the past, in the sixties, but rather as a grandfather, father and brother, to meet the detainees belonging to the Islamic groups and to conduct a rich conversation that began with a reading from the glorious Koran by one of the detainees:

"I have brought you a certain victory so that God may show forgiveness for your sins of the past and those to come."

At the beginning, Shaykh al-Talmasani said, "Before I came to you, I had no intention of discussing any opinion or correcting any ideas. I came for something more serious than that. We are all Moslems, 'and we all want what is good for man, but the most grave dangers and vile conspiracies surround the world of Islam and disaster will befall everyone, whether or not he has opinions.'

"I came to speak the truth, for which I hope to be rewarded. I have reached 87 years of age and I hope that God will end my days in the embrace of Islam.

"It is not reasonable that we, as Moslems, all Moslems, should be preoccupied with others--'this was my predecessor, this is my successor,' and so on and so forth while danger surrounds Islam and the Moslems on all sides.

"I think that every Moslem who has a grain of faith and sound thinking must abandon anything that promises to create rifts among Moslems so that we may join together with common statements and join forces to repel the threats to Islam and the Moslems.

"If you want to cooperate with the enemies of Islam against Islam, become fragmented. Why don't we urge ourselves to join forces with what is for the best? I do not want you to disavow your opinions. Keep your opinions, but forget dissension and dispute. We must forget or ignore the conflicts among us until we save Islam and it becomes strong and powerful. Then let us discuss opinions.

"Let me urge you, through God, your religion and the prophet of God, and let me urge your consciences and your sense of Islam, to abandon the differences that exist among some of you and the differences between you and the government. Each of us, rather than wasting his time, must seek counsel with himself and apply the law of Islam to himself. If 20 million of us commit ourselves to Islamic law, that will be good.

"We must start by correcting ourselves first, then correct others. Why shouldn't we truly be Moslems? True Moslems are ones who go to sleep at night with no rancor against anyone in their hearts. I should prefer the person who does me harm to the person who does me good.

"If we commit ourselves to the teachings of religion and each of us seeks counsel with himself, the banner of Islam will rise on high and wave. It is not true Islam for some of us to defame others. A person who says 'There is no god but God' will not spend an eternity in the fires of hell. We should not view the ruler the way a hunter views a bird. If we are calling for Islam and the sovereignty of Islam, we must adhere to God's book, the sayings and doings of his prophets and the sayings and doings of the first four caliphs. If we see disruptions in the society, each of us must propose an opinion, and we must reform ourselves first.

"No one can make you abandon your beliefs. No one belonging to a group pledges loyalty to the lord of the group--he pledges loyalty to God. We want ours to be an Islamic morality, and not just appearances. Islam is not just a matter of showing one's teeth or wearing a robe; it is much more than that."

Shaykh al-Talmasani concluded his statement to the members of the Islamic groups by saying,

"I came to give advice, receive advice and state the truth."

The second conversation between al-Talmasani and the detained young men in the Islamic groups began, and we are quoting it faithfully here:

Ashraf Ma'ruf: We did not imagine that Shaykh al-Talmasani would visit us. We have heard good things from you. You have said, "Let us forget what conflicts lie among us as groups. But the dispute is between us and the government. The government put us in prison because we are Moslems--how can we forget? We are young people who have lost trust in the men of al-Azhar and the religious scholars writing in the newspapers.

Shaykh al-Talmasani: I am happy to encounter enthusiasm among the young, and you are the assets of the future. I hope, Ashraf, that you will not forget that I began my statement by saying that I did not come to debate an idea, because the equation is not in balance. How can I correct the thinking of someone in prison? This is not the place for it here.

As for the government's position on Moslems, look at the constitution. Article Two of the constitution states that Islamic law is the main source for the codification of laws in this country. Although that article has not yet been applied,

the fact that it is in the constitution is a comprehensive victory. You are the young people of this country and some day will be the people in charge of it. You will all have your status and will be able to put the contents of the constitution into effect.

I say, let us leave what has passed behind us. Danger surrounds us. Come let us put our shoulders together and love one another with God, so that we can regain our confidence in ourselves, and let us shrink from dispute.

We want people's hearts to be pure and we call for guidance for evildoers and tyrants, so that they may turn away from injustice. There is a true prophetic tradition which says, "Do not busy yourselves heaping abuse on kings." We must persevere and adhere to Islam. There is a tradition, "Heaven is surrounded by loathesome things, and hell is surrounded by temptations." The dowry of heaven is expensive. Islam inspires people to loftiness, elegance, love and magnificence. We want, each of us, to become a Koran walking the earth. We want to be Korans that have been endowed with grace. We are thinking about how we can save Islam and the Moslems in all areas of the world. "People have a lord who protects them." We Moslems are instruments.

Hilmi Salim al-Jazzar: The presence of Shaykh al-Talmasani in our midst calls for thanks to God. The sheik has told us to look toward the interests of Islam, and what he has said is right. We for our part can easily forget the dispute with the government, especially since there has been good treatment in the prison.

However, we demand that the government cease imprisoning the detainees, against whom no charges have been filed. This will induce the young people to forget what has happened and look with optimism to the future, and we, as young people, will offer everything we can to our country.

Al-Talmasani: Praise be to God, the release of people from prison has started to assume momentum. I approve what you say, Hilmi, and I ask the security officials to make the young people feel that they wish well of them because they are the future. Here the government will meet a rapid response from the young people. I hope that the officials will deal with the young people in a spirit of brotherliness and affection. "If there is enmity between you and him, let him be like an affectionate guardian."

Ra'fat Riyad: Since the caliphate began, there has been a struggle between truth and falsehood. We Moslems are accused of going into mosques, while crimes are committed on Pyramid Avenue. We have lost confidence in the scholars of al-Azhar who have even prevented us from praying in the mosque in the Unibersity of al-Azhar.

Al-Talmasani: There has been a struggle between truth and falsehood. The truth began with a few weak partisans. What was the result? Punishment of the pious. If we are the people who emulate the good example of our predecessors, appeal for their call, and commit ourselves to the line they followed, the truth must triumph, it will be necessary to adhere to Islamic morality, and our hearts will be pure: "Indeed we will make our prophets, and the devout, triumph." Let God's triumph be achieved.

I have heard factions in prisons cursing one another out. I give advice, out of a desire for God's grace, and give warning against the great danger that will do away with us all.

Dassuqi al-Sayyid Shamlul: We are happy with al-Talmasani and his precious advice, but, along with the advice, I would like to present a recommendation. A plan is needed in the country for guiding young people and having the true religion understood. Empathy with the feelings of young people is desired, and the Moslem proselytizers must be close to the young.

Al-Talmasani: We all know that it is harder to build than to destroy. Where we are today is among the residues of decades, indeed centuries, perhaps as much as 500 years, in which the rulers of the Islamic world deviated from Islam.

I believe you would agree with me that the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, responded warmly to proselytizers, and when he made a request of God, it would be carried out. There is no dispute over that: the prophet was the most beloved of creatures to God. When the prophet saw Moslems being tormented in the course of the divine mission, he would say, "Patience, people of Yasir, your appointment will be with paradise, I do not have any part of these things of yours."

What is asked of us is that we forget or ignore, and all join forces to save Islam and the Moslems. Let us not bear loathing or rancor. Let us respond to one another with a good spirit and let us respond to others. Let violence not enter into anything except that which is violent. The prophet said, "Mercy has been sent to the two worlds."

Tariq al-Sawwah: This meeting has gratified us, and we pray to God that the application of Islamic law and the elimination of certain negative features that exist in society will be realized, as every Moslem wants.

I criticize the press. Why does it describe everyone as "extremist groups?" Is someone who defends Islam an extremist in the eyes of the press? Is this an attempt to distort young Moslems?

We tell the scholars of al-Azhar, "You must play your part in calling sincerely on God's behalf."

Though the government is now concentrating on the scholars of al-Azhar, specifically, and letting them bear the burden of proselytization alone, why shouldn't others be given an opportunity to play their part?

There are also simple things. For example, there is a big store where liquor is sold next to the 'Umar ibn al-Khattab Mosque in Alexandria. Why doesn't the government shut it down?

Al-Talmasani: The consequences of your criticism of the press will be well received, God willing. The press must be fair to you and cease applying the adjective "extremist" to you.

I have an idea. If every cabaret permit that expired was not renewed, the cabaret would shut down in a short while. However, resolving an evil with a more extreme evil will not produce results. We tell the men of al-Azhar, bear your mission. Do not put restrictions on faith in your lord, adhere to your religion, and you will see the results. However, you must change your own lot first.

At the economic conference, people talked a great deal about economic reforms; at the end they said that people had not reformed themselves and the situation would never be set right. I would like to say that wearing beards is not a religious obligation. Rather, it is a confirmed act of the prophet, but people who abandon the confirmed acts of the prophet are blamed for that. In addition, almighty glorious God has equated parents, and obedience to them, with his almighty worship. The sayings and doings of the prophet are not appearances. Faith is what is established in the spirit and work is the true manifestation of it. I am a devout person and I must act out of Islamic teachings--"whoever of you has acted properly."

We, as Moslems, do not bear rancor against anyone. If I have a reasonable appeal, I will preserve it for the ruler, because the proper acts of the ruler contain what is proper for the subjects.

From the discussion, I sense that some of you are still living in the strange atmosphere of the past. We want reform but most unfortunately we are putting all the blame on others.

Mahmud 'Abd-al-'Aziz: The Islamic groups in the Turah penitentiary are very moderate, although there is a very small splinter group among the groups where illnesses have affected something in their spirits. I recommend that books be distributed which will reply to extremist ideas, so that I can learn where the proper path lies.

Ahmad Qasim Muhammad: We are in agreement with Mr al-Talmasani. The issue of the application of Islamic law which we are calling for is not just to reform society but is also to curb intellectual deviation, for instance on the part of people who renounce the government; the reason for this is the failure to apply God's Islamic law.

Al-Talmasani: You must constantly demand that Islamic law be applied, but through good conduct, while adhering to the call, and, God willing, this will produce a result.

Ashraf Mahmud: We have been here in the penitentiary for 9 months, and here we are going onto a year and no charges have been filed against us. We have lodged a protest and we would like you to convey what we are saying to the officials. We are not extremists and have not violated the holy book or the sayings and doings of the prophet. We are given good treatment in prison and salute the prison officials for this, although some of them are treating us harshly.

Al-Talmasani: We demand what you demand. We demand the release of the young people who have not been proved to have any connection with the crimes. Every week or 10 days people are released, and this is good.

Muhammad Mansur: Why should we be prevented from producing? This is our country, and we love Egypt. We salute the magazine AL-MUSAWWAR for speaking the truth.

Al-Talmasani: You have reassured me that the treatment has been good in prison, and this bodes well, is a good sign, and is something that gladdens us. We must do our duties and God will never cause us to lose our way.

At the end of the meeting, the young people gave Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani a string of beads and asked him to come back for another meeting.

11887

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LEADER OF SPLINTER GROUP REFUSES TO PARTICIPATE IN PRISON DIALOGUE

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3020, 27 Aug 82 p 32

/Article: "Al-Samawi Runs away again and Abstains from Dialogue"/

/Text/ AL-MUSAWWAR's assumption of a week ago, that Taha al-Samawi would back away from a confrontation with the people who had split off from him, was correct. In this week's symposium al-Samawi was confronted by 'Abd-al-Rahmad Idris, 'Abd-al-Mun'im Muhammad Rushdi and a third young man with them named Muhammad Nabil Muhammad 'Ali, who was not part of his group but had lived with him in a single cell, listened to his ideas, renounced them from the beginning and discovered that he mistreated his followers. Al-Samawi remained silent and started interrupting them as they were talking but refused to answer them or get into a conversation with Dr Muhyi-al-Din al-Safi, the dean of the Faculty of the Principles of Religion at al-Azhar University and Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Sayyid Najm, professor of prophetic traditions and the science of traditions in the Faculty of the Principles of Religion, who had attended the symposium.

Taha al-Samawi attended the symposium after a modest unsuccessful attempt to run away from the discussion. He refused to sit down but stayed standing in an attempt to prevent 'Abd-al-Rahman Idris from reviewing al-Samawi's ideas. He turned his back on him; nonetheless 'Abd-al-Rahman was fully explicit about al-Samawi's ideas, explaining their main points.

When he finished his discussion Taha al-Samawi said, "I will not answer anyone and will not reply to anyone."

Dr al-Safi: You must reply to what 'Abd-al-Rahman said because that kind of thinking is very damaging to Islam and we must explain to you and your followers the errors you have succumbed to in embracing and propagating this thinking.

Taha al-Samawi: I do not want to answer him because that might cause dissension.

Dr al-Safi: You are the one who is causing dissension in the society by spreading these ideas around. These are three witnesses who say that you have actually spread them around. If you did not, then why do you say "I deny it, I am not spreading them among people?"

Taha al-Samawi: Fine, you have judged me without a meeting. Have you met me before?

Dr al-Safi: The ideas that were presented to us now, in your presence, by your former aides and disciples, are ideas which reject society, the ruler and the army, and it is an obligation to foreswear them. We would like to put an end to this thinking, and you are running away from a confrontation. You are either ignorant and do not know about anything, and are even deficient in presenting your ideas and views, or you are a charlatan who is hiding behind silence so you won't expose yourself.

Taha al-Samawi: You will not draw me into a discussion now. I am not psychologically prepared for one.

Dr al-Safi: You are poisoning the ideas of Moslems by spreading around these ideas, which have caused dissension in the heart of Islam. They are the ideas of Kharijites, calumnists and so forth. It is our duty to stand up to you, explaining the mistakes to which you have succumbed and to which you have caused others to succumb, leading to dissension among Moslems.

Taha al-Samawi: I will not reply to that. I consider that insulting.

'Abd-al-Mun'im Muhammad Rashad: If you do not reply to that, I consider you a fraud. You have deceived me, defrauded me, and prompted me to resign from my job, me and my brother. I will file a suit for fraud against you because now with this silence of yours, by abstaining from answering, you have shown that you are a coward. Where are the promises you made to us, that we would struggle in God's path, say the truth wherever we were, and not be afraid of God because of blame from reproachful persons? Where is it all, Shaykh Taha?

At this point Taha al-Samawi turned his back on 'Abd-al-Mun'im Muhammad Rashad and did not answer him.

Dr al-Safi: I declare that 'Uthman's dissension created a great relapse in the Islamic nation; one must follow the leader, whoever he may be. They said, "Following an unjust leader is better than letting dissension continue." All religious jurists have reached unanimity on the fact that as long as the city performs the prayer and calls for it from the minaret through the call to prayer, no one can renounce the city; even one which closes a mosque should be given a 3-day period to reopen it before we renounce the people in it. Ours, sir, is a Moslem society and almighty God says, "My worshippers, tell the people who have squandered money on themselves not to despair of God's mercy." With these ideas, you are renouncing a Moslem society. You do not want us to discuss your ideas or your answer to proper statements or win us over to the ideas you have."

Taha al-Samawi: I will not answer you. Say what you like.

Dr al-Safi: Sir, here are two of your followers, one of whom was with you for a while in prison, opposing your ideas and standing up to you because of what you said to them. Some of them pledged allegiance to you because of it, then the veils came off their eyes, praise be to God, and they came here in our presence so that we could discuss the ideas you have discussed and the waywardness you have called on people to join you in, and you say that you will not answer us!

Taha al-Samawi: I will not answer them or you. You are an infidel and if you deny that then you have retreated out of insubordination.

Dr al-Safi: I know that a person who abandons the prayer, which is known as a religious obligation, is not an infidel. How can you renounce society just because there are a few insubordinate people in it? God's houses are full of people at prayer; there are many veiled women, thanks be to God, in our society. How can you renounce such a society, sir! You, with this silence, are asserting that you are embracing these ideas and propagating them! What harm would it do you if you did not embrace these ideas, if you stated that as a sincere word in God's behalf? If you do embrace them, then it is our duty to talk to you so that you may renounce them and return to the right road and the true religion.

Taha al-Samawi: I have determined not to get into a discussion with you.

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Sayyid Najm: God has ordered the people who teach Moslems to state good things, and you, when you accuse the society of apostasy, are creating a rift among Moslems. It would be better for you to learn rather than to render judgment; you are not a person who is qualified to render judgments. Where did you get the right to say that so-and-so is a Moslem and so-and-so is not a Moslem? Has God put in possession of slaves? For example the Koranic verse "The people who do not rule by the revelations God has made are the infidels." Have you studied that, and the person to whom it was revealed? The verse was essentially revealed to the people of the book; it is not an expression regarding causes, it is in the general language. How can you judge that people are to be renounced when you don't know anything about Islam? What are your qualifications?

'Abd-al-Rahman Idris replied, "General secondary and some reading. He doesn't know the difference between rulings and verdicts."

'Abd-al-Mun'im Muhammad Rashad said, "Al-Samawi has three masters, among them Khalil al-Sayyid Khalil."

Dr al-Safi: "Is that religion in any way? The prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, realized his requirements himself, and did not ask anything from anyone.

'Abd-al-Rahman: I was with him for 7 years. Ask him where the luxurious furnishings in his home came from. He commandeered the group's money. Once I got an investment certificate for 100 pounds and gave him 25 pounds of it. He blessed profits from investment certificates. He prohibits things, then makes them lawful for himself.

Dr al-Safi: God has exposed your secrets to your subjects. Your two disciples were misled by you. You deceived them at the beginning, then after they followed you they learned that you made vain allegations and were a calumnier.

Al-Samawi: God will defend those who are devout.

Dr al-Safi: God does not like every traitor and apostate. This is the rest of the verse you do not know. Your sense does not come from your conscience.

Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im Najm: It is clear, Samawi, that what you know is very minor; it has no substance and cannot be calculated at all. Your silence is proof that what your colleagues have said is correct. It seems that you do not know anything about what you are preaching, because great men and religious scholars do not undertake to give verdicts until they have become thoroughly versed in knowledge, research and study. One must become thoroughly versed in the whole Koran and one must know the sayings and doings of the prophet, categorical and hypothetical proof and the reasons for the revelation, and it is clear that you have not done any of that.

Taha al-Samawi: I am not asking about what you know.

Dr al-Safi: I would prefer it if you repented. If you do not know about the Kharijites' dissension, or claim not to, we can explain it to you.

Al-Samawi: I derive my sustenance from God.

Dr al-Safi: You derive your sustenance from satan and give proof of your ignorance. The companions of the prophet did not issue rulings, so how can you do so, ignorant person, renegade?

Al-Sumawi: In a man's thinking, it is evil for his Moslem brother to be an apostate.

Dr al-Safi: That is a statement of truth which you have presented as a falsehood. Every vessel exudes what is in it.

'Abd-al-Rahman: Let me say for the record here that the other commanders of the groups are nobler than al-Samawi, although I disagree with them, because they spoke their ideas courageously and defended them. As for him, though, he has not talked about his ideas because his ideas are wayward, fugitive and shallow. He lied to us when we were ignorant and appealed to us with arguments that benefit Jews and the enemies of Islam. He even called on people to avoid customs duties and payment of bus tickets.

Dr al-Safi: You have exposed the ideas of this wrongful, sinful person who is renouncing society.

Nabil: I do not belong to al-Samawi's group, but circumstances brought me together with him in Abu Za'bal prison. He imposed himself on his subjects and people who were not his subjects and renounced society, the government and the ruler. He was always asking for money and gifts from his subjects and saying "No matter how many services and how much money you offer me, you will not be giving me my due. What I have offered to you is far greater than your money, your gifts or your services."

Dr al-Safi: Al-Samawi, you are using fraudulence in Islam.

Al-Samawi: I do not want to hear from a group of people who were with me then broke away from me. I do not want to get into a discussion with them or with you.

Dr al-Safi: They have discovered that you are a hypocrite.

Al-Samawi: In this manner, you are disfiguring my image.

Dr al-Safi: You want to destroy home and hearth. It is God who has exposed you. Everything you have said is wayward and wrong. We are prepared to hold a discussion with you to show you where the waywardness and error lie. However, you refuse any discussion. It is as if you were afraid of guidance and fleeing from repentance.

Al-Samawi: Has your conversation with me ended?

Dr al-Safi: What went on between us was not a conversation. You have refused to face your companions and have refused to talk about your ideas, because you have no ideas or justifications. It has become clear from this position of yours that you are just a fraud conjuring in the name of religion. We have no need for you, or for conversing with you, until you repent and retreat from this wayward thinking.

11887

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RELIGIOUS DETAINEES INSIDE ABU ZA'BAL DISCUSS HOPES, PLANS

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3021, 3 Sep 82 pp 45-47

/Article by Yusuf Fikri and Ahmad Abu Kaff: "A Frank Discussion inside Abu Za'bal Prison: The Detainees Demand Reconciliation, A Dialogue of Trust, and a Cure, Not an Amputation"/

/Text/ More than one surprise was waiting in the conversation inside Abu Za'bal Penitentiary.

The first surprise was that it had been declared that Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani would be the one to hold the discussion at last Thursday's meeting, but the situation changed. Some of the people who were to converse with him who belonged to the Islamic groups in Abu Za'bal were released, while others were outside the penitentiary, presenting "grievances" over the detention.

The second surprise was that the person holding the conversation was Dr Ahmadi Abu-al-Nur, the vice dean of the Islamic Girls' Faculty at al-Azhar University, the vice chairman of the Society of Moslem Youth and the eloquent radio and television commentator. The people he conversed with were a group of young people, some from the Islamic groups, some not. His conversation and discourse with the young people had a good effect and elicited a good response.

The third surprise was that a new tone had become apparent since the meeting in the last conversation between Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani and the young members of Islamic groups in Turah Penitentiary. This tone was embodied by the discussion on "reconciliation" with the government. That is how it turned out. 'Umar al-Talmasani had asked the young people to forget the past and turn a new leaf with respect to the present, which was far different from the past. The young people said that they had been badly affected by months of detention without specific charges, and that they ought not to remain in this condition, because they wanted to live a public life, contribute to their country, and work, and the charge against them, as they had asserted more than once, was that they had made appeals on God's behalf.

The fourth surprise was that a tone had also become conspicuous in Abu Za'bal about "reconciliation" and "mutual trust."

This tone has become more pronounced with the successive releases of prisoners which took place during and before the month of August.

The fifth surprise was that Dr al-Ahmadi Abu-al-Nur was the first person to hold a discussion who went to the penitentiary with a book which he put before himself, the book being "The Reader's Aide in Explaining the True Version of al-Bukhari" by al-'Ayni. He opened the book, or part of it, to a single subject, "faith" and the nature of faith.

The sixth surprise was that there was total frankness on the part of Dr Abu-al-Nur and the young people regarding excesses, the proper call to religion, true faith and also defense of the media, which had devoted immense space in its programming to religious programs.

Disputes, Not Differences

At the beginning, Dr al-Ahmadi Abu-al-Nur said, regarding the circumstances of his coming to meet for the first time with the young people in prison, that he had asked the people who had invited him to the discussion about the nature of the issues that could be subjected to discussion around the Islamic table, besides which there is no table--that is, God's book and the sayings and doings of the prophet of God, on whom be God's prayers and peace.

The answer was that the subjects need not be specified, and the questions need not be specified either. That is, the basis of the discussion would be one of freedom to ask questions and freedom to give answers.

Dr al-Ahmadi Abu al-Nur said, "There is destructive, and creative and constructive, power in young people at the same time. Therefore, we are meeting here together, and differences of opinion will not wreak havoc over the love of a cause: 'If you have fought with one another over something, give it back to God and the prophet, if you believe in God and the day of judgment.'

"The way to Islamic unity is for our meetings always to take place within a family."

Dr Abu-al-Nur, directing his talk to the young detainees, said, "Everyone of you has a family, at home, at work or in the educational institution, and disputes do not wreak havoc over the love of a cause. Islam has turned disputes over opinions into things which unify and do not cause fragmentation. Islam welcomes disputes over viewpoints, if such disputes arise and originate from a single source and a single goal, which is Islam: 'This is your nation, a single nation; I am your lord; therefore worship.'

"However Moslems may disagree, their affairs are one and the principles of people are one: 'Codify for them from religion as Noah advised.' 'Establish the religion and do not separate from one another over it.' 'There is a program and a holy law for every beetle in your midst.' The Moslems have been the people worthiest of unification of word, thought and objective through time and place.

"We differ, true. However, we are not broken down into left and right. Rather, the scope in which we must come together is always known as one of truth. There is a precious jewel, which is 'the sincere religion.' You do not give people advice unless you are sincere with them in your heart. The sincere religion belongs

to God, his prophet and the imams of the Moslems. Therefore, we ask God that we may all be captains. The affairs of captains are based on three things: knowledge, work and education.

"Therefore, whoever gives advice or raises a call on behalf of God is like a healing doctor who guides through wisdom and is an example. We must be the heirs of these great predecessors who lived in the days of the prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, and were captains, learning, acting through what they had learned, and teaching others."

A Discussion about Faith

An important point was then raised about faith, which took up almost all the discussion time.

On the subject of faith, by way of inquiry Dr Abu-al-Nur stated, Does that mean approval through the heart only, or approval and action with all one's might?

A dispute arose over that.

In al-'Ayni's book "The Reader's Aide in Explaining the True Version of al-Bukhari," the prophet of God, on whom be God's prayers and peace, defined faith as approval and belief: "Faith means that you believe in God, his angels, his books, his prophets and the day of judgment," and so on, to the end of the tradition.

He then said "There is a basis for faith, and there is complete faith. Complete faith is the integrated picture. An integrated believer is one who does not draw close to rebelliousness, does not lie, does not fornicate, does not oppress and does not trespass against God's revered attributes. The reward for this of course is salvation from going into the fire.

"People who have a basis of faith but perpetrate some rebellious acts God saves from an eternity in the fire.

"This shows us an essential point, which is that people who perpetrate an act of rebelliousness and believe that it is a rebellious act may be given intercession before God, whose status is almighty: 'You who believe, show sincere repentance to God,' that is, repentance from rebellious acts. 'People who believe and do not cloak their devotion in tyranny': tyranny is a characteristic of polytheism. Thus there are acts of rebelliousness which the quality of devotion will not negate. 'God does not forgive people who worship others along with him but is forgiving over less than that among those whom he wishes.'

"There are limits in renouncing the thing the person has perpetrated. In other words, for example, a fornicator who commits fornication is not a man of full faith. There is a tradition: 'A fornicator does not commit fornication when he is a believer.'"

Why did Dr Abu-al-Nur get into the subject of faith and devote the bulk of the discussion to it?

He answered that by saying, "My purpose in all this is to have our study of all Islamic issues founded on a programmatic approach. We should respect all opinions. We should respect people's enthusiasm and spiritual powers. This is all directed toward the good.

"A person who commits a rebellious act but is a believer, as we previously pointed out, enjoys the condition that he will not spend an eternity in the fire.

"Naturally there is a difference between a person who is fully devout and has not committed a rebellious act and a devout person who has."

A Good Start to the Discussion

The youth Muhyi-al-Din al-Zayit, a detainee who is a dermatologist:

After praising the truthful nature of the publications in the media, he entered onto an important point, which is that Egypt is the heartland of Arabhood and Islam. Egypt is our true country, which we love and revere, and for whose sake we are prepared to make many efforts.

Abraham of Hebron, the father of the prophets, married Hagar, the Egyptian princess, and from her begat Ishmael; this means that Hagar is the mother of the Arabs and Egypt is the mother of Arabhood.

On the Islamic nature of Egypt, he mentioned two of the traditions of the prophet, on whom be God's blessings and peace: "Have good intentions regarding the people of Egypt because there you will meet with trust and mercy," and, "If you conquer Egypt take abundant soldiers from it, for they are the best soldiers on earth." Therefore it is the soldiers of Egypt who spread Islam in Africa and many areas of the Islamic world. Therefore, Egypt has had the greatest effect in Islamic history.

Al-Zayit said, "Egypt remained a strong flank until the British occupation occurred. It sought to smash all the components of strength among the Arab peoples and the peoples of Islam. Colonialism devoted itself to fighting three things: the holy book, the Kaaba and the Friday prayer.

"Attempts were made to westernize education and westernize culture. In spite of everything that happened, there still is 'faith' in Egypt. People who steal say 'May the lord conceal it.' People who deviate say 'Our lord will forgive us.'"

Al-Zayit went on: "We have abandoned, or neglected, the upbringing of human beings in this era. We complain of a lack of conscience, because we have not adhered closely to Islam. When young people make an Islamic awakening, that must be greeted with a warm response.

"Therefore we want officials to stress that the young people's return to their lord and their religion is a return to the roots. We do not want the devil to intervene.

"We are asking for a kind of 'reconciliation' which will include even young people who have erred and gone to excess. What cannot be doubted is that some young people have succumbed to error. They are not the only ones who have done so--the government has also succumbed to error.

"Finally, we demand that the doors of the media be opened to trustworthy religious scholars and that the scholars return to their mosques. The whole nation has erred, and we hope that we will all emerge as brothers, loving one another under the banner of Islam."

Dr al-Ahmadi Abu-al-Nur replied, saying:

"At the start, there has been no animosity that would require a reconciliation.

"We must start as a single family. Our causes are the same, our pains are the same, and when we strive in solidarity and deeply study our problems together, that is best. There is no dispute over principles or fundamentals. The dispute is over interpretation of the platform, and who is to interpret it.

"Islam is in a good state in Egypt. Religious devotion, which is innate among Egyptian Moslems, is in a good state.

"What I would like to tell you is that I am in agreement with you on many of the issues that have been raised. However, I would like each of us to respect everyone. Let us start with a step and a new stage in which there will be mutual trust between ruler and ruled. Let us call for the truth and call for patience. We want the government apparatus to have trust in us and we want the trust to be mutual.

"I would like to point out here that in the era before the July revolution no voices were raised in Egypt stating that it was necessary to apply Islamic law and to rule by the Koran and Islam. That was all a whisper in the era of the monarchy and colonialism.

"The voice of Islam was not raised on high. However, in recent years, a great leap forward occurred, when Article Two of the constitution stated that Islamic law was the main source for legislation.

"Frankly, I am rebuking you. You might be pointing the arrows of criticism only at the negative things.

"We all, as proselytizers, must begin with the positive things first of all in order to be successful in our mission. It is with kindness that we gain the ground on which to function. Therefore, in our appeal, we do not want conflict. Let us gain the government's confidence that we are striving for what is good, are not transgressing against property, and are anxious that security should become firmly rooted and spread, and that production should multiply.

"In the holy verse, 'You were the best nation I brought forth before the people,' that means 'you were the best nation militarily, politically and scientifically.' Why don't we Moslems invent and innovate? Why should that depend on other,

non-Moslem nations? Why should we embrace what the colonialists are propagating, that the white race is the lord of man and that innovation comes from that race alone? God said, in the heart of his book, 'The most noble of you to God are the most pious of you.' That is, the most noble of you to God are the ones who are the most active, the best-educated and the most productive. The most pious people are the people who are the most fit to produce and work for the welfare of society."

At this point a young man, Hamdayn al-Sayyid 'Abd-al-Ghaffar, a student in medicine at al-Azhar and a detainee, commented by saying:

"The tradition arises from a condition I have experienced here, behind the walls.

"We know that it is 'the sincere religion,' and there must be a climate of trust between the sincere advisor, and the person who is advised.

"From a condition which I have experienced here--and I am a person from al-Azhar--there has been a deep blow to the trust between young people and al-Azhar and its religious scholars. Although al-Azhar is full of eminent scholars, young people are still distrustful, because the religious scholars have not played a tangible role in the recent period. I, as an al-Azharite, in our discussions here, behind bars--I have not had it in me to defend al-Azhar.

"I would like the young people's remedy to come from the source, from al-Azhar, from good ground and from a good spirit. The young people are a force that needs guidance from religious scholars and people with sound ideas. We are innocent of the young people who have lived their lives about ideas that are far removed from what is right.

"Therefore, al-Azhar and its scholars must not be absent from the scene. These young people who have been thrown into prison for months do not know anything about what they have done; they are afflicted with frustration. The reason for that is their lack of guidance and the lack of treatment at the hands of eminent religious scholars.

"Why shouldn't the door be open in al-Azhar to the powers of young Moslems, perhaps to faculties or a free institute of Islamic studies, so that al-Azhar will not graduate young people who attack it and its scholars for things they do not possess?

"We see that some religious scholars of al-Azhar are active on the scene, but we want all the scholars of al-Azhar to be on the stage, because al-Azhar is in Egypt and therefore every Egyptian must be a model, because he is living on the territory of al-Azhar."

At the end of his statement Hamdayn al-Sayyid 'Abd-al-Ghaffar said,

"We ask for a kind of trust between young people and officials. Young people are a very good raw material. We want a cure, not an amputation. We want a reconciliation with the security authorities. We are your children and your brothers; we are of you and for you. We want advice and guidance."

Dr Abu-al-Nur said, "I would like the scholars of al-Azhar to play their part.

"However, on the other hand, I rebuke some young people whom some of the scholars of al-Azhar venture to invite to mosques, and who then leave them and go to other people who have less learning than they do. I might go to a mosque, pray there, and stand up to give a lecture, and be surprised to see some of the people at prayer go off to one side, then take one another and go off. These young people do not want to take advice or to listen.

"Therefore the young people have a duty, and the religious scholars of al-Azhar have a duty, and we must be a single family with no disputes among us.

"The religious stock in Egypt is a great stock.

"I would like to have a special program for young people in al-Azhar, and to have continuous symposia in the mosques."

The detainee Kamal 'Abd-al-Majid, a legal researcher in the Education /Ministry/, said:

"This has been a fruitful dialogue. We ask God to have good spirits dominate our dialogues, which we hope will go on outside the walls.

"We have great trust in our lofty scholars. No one will ever deny this. As the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, said, 'No era and no disposition is totally devoid of sincere people who possess knowledge.' There are always just scholars.

"I consider that disputes are healthy and must exist, as regards the subsidiary matters, not the basics. There was mercy in the disputes among the companions of the prophet. Disputes over opinions are a blessing, but disputes in the heart are to be rejected.

"These young men"--he pointed to the people seated--"their whole objective is to work on behalf of the call to God, the realization of God's law on their land and the advancement of the state of Islam. The goals in applying God's law are to protect property, lives and honor. These are high, lofty goals. When we call for God's law on earth, we demand justice on this earth. The Europeans are studying Islamic law nowadays; what about us Moslems?

"We consider that the government is proceeding to bring about Islamic law. Its constitution, in its second article, stipulates that Islamic law is the main source of legislation, and this is good. It is a success for Islamic action, after a long struggle.

"As long as the government is on the way to applying God's law, there is no adversity between young Moslems and the government and people active in the area of the appeal to God. The government must embrace Islamic action, protect it and strengthen it, not resist it.

"We detainees are not belittling anyone's ability. We will all be a butress for the country, taking off our clothes, putting on yellow garb, sweeping the streets and building up our country.

"What is required is that young people be cherished because they are a precious resource. They are sincerely devoted to Egypt and the government."

Muhammad Shabanah said, "We are indeed in agreement with the points raised in the discussion, especially those raised by Dr Abu-al-Nur on 'faith.' There is no one among us here who embraces a belief which is different from that of our righteous predecessors. Extremist thinking has not penetrated to us, because it is contradictory to our Islam. We beseech God to protect us from the excessive ideas and lapses which we hear and read about.

"I am on Dr Abu-al-Nur's side. Moslem proselytizers must be flexible and must mention the beneficial points first, in the sense that their criticism must be flexible.

"However, I do not agree with people who say that al-Azhar's role has been usurped and is lacking. To the contrary, we respect the eminent scholars of al-Azhar, although at the same time we want them to exert themselves and fill the Islamic educational void specifically.

"This dialogue, in itself, has been an attempt to restore the time-honored glory of the scholars of al-Azhar, and we hope it will be repeated again and again."

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PAPER DISCUSSES, PREDICTS 'EXPORT OF REVOLUTION'

Tehran ETTELLA'AT in Persian 26 Sep 82 pp 1, 11

[Text] In the two past issues, in a discussion of "Factors and motivations for the genesis of the war," we said that the revolution would be accompanied by the release of a great amount of energy. On the strength of this energy, the revolution after its victory needs a wider space and newer conditions. Due to the demands of its own nature, the revolution cannot live in peace and quiet. The fragrance of the revolution will drift into the space surrounding it, and as we term it, the revolution will be exported.

The next step is the clarification of the characteristics and values of the revolution. The duty of officials of the revolution begins in this stage. Here plans and programs are effective in relation to the success or failure of the movement. Here two beliefs oppose each other. One group says that the revolution does not belong to a special country or nation. As soon as it is victorious in one society, we must strive to extend it across the globe. This group believes that after a revolution is victorious in one country, it means that the barriers and problems have been removed from that country's path, and naturally a higher energy is liberated. Therefore, we should hasten to help the world's oppressed and fettered nations with this freed energy. This type of leader began activity across the world the day after the revolution's victory, and shouts slogans supporting the oppressed nations and condemning the colonialists. They do not give so much importance to national interests and domestic issues.

The other group believes that we must first have a base in the world in order to export the revolution. The revolution must have a pattern and a model in a place where all the obstacles and problems have been solved in all areas; then it can offer this model to the world as a revolutionary achievement. According to this theory, after victory all efforts must be put towards answering and solving the country's domestic needs and problems. After fundamental changes in the social, cultural and economic system, we can pay attention to issues outside the country.

Through close examination of these two theories we observe that each of them alone ultimately restrains the revolution from search and movement.

This means that it can be said that it is natural that the revolution have contacts abroad and answer the calls of the world's oppressed. However, if persons who believe in this message have nothing to say and nothing to show as a model in connection with preserving the revolution, how can they answer the problems of the world's oppressed and deprived people? If the revolution's domestic bases are weak and fundamental changes are not created in the society, the revolutionary society, because it has overthrown previous conditions but has not replaced them with anything, is like a sick man convalescing. Because it has no sanction for its actions (due to internal weakness), its actions take on an aspect of sloganeering and it passes away into oblivion. How often has it happened that revolutions suffer deviation at home while at the same time the revolution's soldiers are engaged in liberation wars. A valuable example of this issue is the period after the prophet's death, when simultaneously with the taking of the first unprincipled steps inside the Islamic society, Islam's warriors were engaged in conquering foreign lands. In regards to the relation between a country's social fabric and its slogans, we can cite the story of Anwar Sadat as an example. After Nasser's death, he came to power with anti-American, anti-Zionist slogans, but as is proved by the fact that due to carnal weakness he permitted the activity of U.S. banks according to the "Open Door Policy," he soon observed that he could not govern without U.S. support. We saw a Sadat who had made the most radical anti-American proclamations come to such a state that at the end of his shameful life he said 'if the United States does not want to be active in Egypt, I will pursue the United States.'

On the other hand, if we wish to accept the second view, we again see that historical experience does not present positive examples resulting from the application of this manner of thought. This is because it is evident that whenever we separate one part from a living totality (on the condition that the totality be coordinated and tied together), the separated part suffers corruption and extinction. The human hand, for example, which has special abilities within the totality of the body, becomes putrefied and necrotic if it is separated from the totality of the body.

A part cut off from the whole is useless,
A hand cut off the body is carrion.

Meaning that a revolution cannot remain separate from society and separate from the struggles of the world's deprived people. Any revolution that remains indifferent to the suffering and oppression of the world's deprived persons will reflect that same indifference back inside the country, and with the passage of time the revolution will be drawn into compromise and diplomatic attitudes. This is because the arrogance of today is a worldwide system that acts in a coordinated way. Therefore revolutionaries cannot and must not struggle separately from one another. An example of this is the attitude of the leaders of the October Russian revolution towards Mirza Kuchek Khan. In order to solve their internal problems (or for other reasons we are not now concerned with), they informed the British government in a letter that they were not concerned with Britain's interests in colonialized points, and thus did not support Mirza Kuchek Khan.

As can be observed, the problem is a bit complicated, and both approaches have weak points in abundance. Yet through researching the prophet's actions and examining the Hadith, we understand that there is another approach which is the direct connection of the internal and the external spheres. This means that we see that this separation we are talking about did not occur in the Hadith in this form. Meaning that at the same time that defense of country and homeland is obligatory, we also have "Whoever becomes a Muslim and is not concerned with Muslim affairs is not a Muslim." We even have a Hadith which says: 'Whoever hears a person' (the Hadith does not say Muslim or believer, rather person) 'crying out for help from Muslims and does not help him is not a Muslim.'

While the prophet was sent for all the world's people ("What we have sent you is for all the people"), we see that he was engaged in solving the region's problems during the first six years in Medinah. Then, in the sixth or seventh year, he wrote a letter to the leaders of Iran and Rome (outside the country), and in the eighth year conquered Mecca (which is a domestic problem in relation to Iran and Rome).

We therefore reach the conclusion that a direct relation between the internal and external spheres exist. If attention is not given to the internal side, nothing can be done abroad, and if attention is not given to the world abroad, we will be afflicted by compromise and deviation at home.

Naturally issues such as what the approach should be, how planning should be done from the practical angle, what standards of classification are used, and what the level of limits and boundaries between the internal and external spheres should be are axes that must be treated in a separate discussion. Today however, we are examining this issue in connection with the imposed war. We claim that the war has solved this matter in the best possible way. Of course it should be clear that we do not want to say that the war is a good thing in any absolute sense or that it has been constantly accompanied by goodness and blessings. However, we are saying that whenever a development is righteous and moves in the divine path, all natural and non-natural factors put themselves at the service of its movement. According to the promise of the koran, the angels hasten to help it. Here, because the development of the Islamic revolution is righteous, even the obstacles which they place in its path and all the plots and tricks cannot obstruct it. Instead they eventually act to its advantage. The imposed war is an interesting example of this matter.

As we know, the United States imposed this war on us, but we see that it has eventually profited us and injured it. It does not seem that we can cite an example of a phenomenon other than the imposed war in which the two aspects we have discussed accompany each other. Meaning that while we are struggling and striving to fortify the revolution's bases "inside," we also attain the goals we have "outside." In the imposed war, our first step is to defend the Islamic homeland and the revolution's ideals. Naturally, in order to continue the war we must plan for a self-sufficient economy that can simultaneously sustain the war, we must reduce consumption and luxury items, harmonize the army and the Revolution Guards, meaning creating fundamental

changes in the fabric and system of the army, eliminate weapon dependency on the United States so we can carry on a long-term struggle, take steps to plan for an economy without oil, etc. On the one hand all of these fortify and consolidate the bases of the revolution domestically, and at the same time are part of the struggle against the Saddamists and in reality, the struggle against the United States and its servants, meaning the region's reactionary governments which support Saddam. They can be reckoned as blows against U.S. bases in the region. Two years of resistance and struggle against U.S. plots including Saddam's aggression have stabilized the validity of the revolution and the imam's leadership in the region, and have shown the world's deprived and oppressed masses the righteousness of Iran and the essence of the Islamic revolution. This took place at a time when we were engaged in defending our own country. However, because this defense was in the context of war, it also had an enormous impact abroad.

The prophet-like conduct of our brothers towards the Iraqi prisoners and their high morale on the fronts have had such an effect that everyone has come to believe in the Islamic revolution with great zeal and enthusiasm. During the course of the war while we were defending the Islamic revolution, resulting in the domestic groups seeking overthrow, we also moved to export our revolution to Iraq. Whether Saddam likes it or not, the wave of the Islamic revolution has covered Iraq during the war and has put his puppet government in danger.

During these two years while we have been occupied domestically, we have not been caught in inaction and compromise. This is due to our clash with the United States (warring with Saddam). Contrary to other countries which have gotten caught in compromise and diplomatic attitudes when they were occupied domestically, the Islamic republic confronts the United States more forcefully and aggressively with each day that passes. This is the result of two years of direct struggle against the United States. Yes, the war has a two-fold impact: a domestic impact and an external impact. Even if we believe there is an endless boundary between these two, the war has eliminated this boundary in the best way possible, and has made the export of the revolution in its true meaning practical. The war has shown us how one can have a perpetual revolution, and how, after laying the foundation of the "system," one can defend the truth even more revolutionarily and fearlessly than in the period of the "movement."

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HADDAD DISCUSSES JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN TIES

NC171244 Marj 'Uyun Lebanon Voice of Hope in Arabic 1012 GMT 17 Oct 82

[Speech by "Free Lebanon" Commander Maj Sa'd Haddad on 17 October--live from the Marj 'Uyun studio]

[Text] Brother Lebanese: It gives me pleasure to speak to you from time to time because closeness is achieved through talking. Before I forget, you can turn the television to channel 12 in the areas that can receive us and see and hear the same talk. This also applies to our radio.

It has been a long time since I spoke to you. However, be sure we were not and will not be far from you. We are always with you; our hearts and thoughts are with you. All our efforts are directed for your sake.

Today I will speak to you about some (?new) topics and I will not speak for long. First, I will deal with Jordan for a while: Today, King Husayn is on a honeymoon with the first swindler [Palestinian] Yasir 'Arafat. We also tell him good for you, Oh Husayn, and may the new reconciliation be blessed. I do not know why Jordan and its information media have reservations concerning us these days. Where have the promises gone? They are also fabricating lies. I am surprised how a state and its official information media can fabricate lies. In any case, this does not affect us because we know that any ruler who builds his government on lies will not last; in the end it is like building on sand since the structure will collapse.

Since he has started to lie, I can predict that the Jordanian structure will collapse soon. God willing, it will collapse because a government that is built on lies can harm. In any case I warn King Husayn that once he strengthens and improves his relations with the swindlers, the beginning of the end as far as he is concerned has started. It appears that he had forgotten the proverb which says: There must be something wrong with the mind of the person who puts to the test what had already been tested. It appears that King Husayn has forgotten the 1970 events, Black September and why he and his army carried out those actions and why he slaughtered about 20,000 swindlers. He has forgotten. He will not come out intact everytime.

To start with the swindlers will be smooth [in their behavior] like a young snake which is soft and smooth but when it grows and becomes strong, it

will have poison and then in the end will bite its owner. King Husayn is aware of all these things but I mention them for the sake of reminding him. If today you are opening training camps for them, again I say good for you. We are certain that in the end they will want to take over in Jordan and we wish them success. The East Bank [of Jordan] will then become a homeland and we hope it will become a homeland for the Palestinians. This idea was presented in the past and it appears that it is going to materialize now. In the past they sent a messenger or an envoy to King Husayn to sound him out and to find out his views on entering the Camp David agreements, recovering the West Bank and making peace, but he refused.

They told him: Strange, why are you rejecting? He told them: I am not rejecting because I reject peace with Israel. I am rejecting because I no longer want the Palestinians to be under my rule. I don't trust them.

Why did King Husayn change his mind now? Did they give him some more money? Everything is possible. However, I tell him that from now on the outcome will be bad for him.

Anyway, I want to tell you a story which I hope the Jordanians will hear. In 1964, I went to a training course in the United States. Jordanian officers, including one from the Al-Majali clan, were attending the same course. The Al-Majali clan is considered loyal to King Husayn. We were sitting with a U.S. officer. The officer from the Al-Majali clan then held--I believe--the rank of captain. The Jordanian officer began to curse King Husayn and criticize his rule. We asked him why he was saying such things. He said that Jordan was a false and artificial homeland, that it had no future and that it should be annexed to Syria. He then said many other dirty things.

So that our U.S. friend would not understand, I started talking to the Jordanian in Arabic. I told him: Shame on you for saying such things about your monarch. He has sent you here. If you, the Al-Majali clan, talk like this, what have you left for others? He told me: The regime will not last long and must be changed. If people on whom King Husayn relies say such things, how will the swindlers and the gunmen behave toward him. Therefore, we tell King Husayn: If you remain ignorant and continue to pursue this course, your end is very near.

Secondly, all of you have heard about the booby-trapped car which exploded in a square in Marj 'Uyun. We were disgusted by this cowardly act. We, who are accustomed to fighting honestly, have believed that our enemy would be honest and would face us with the same methods with which we fight. Regrettably, however, after our enemy was defeated, he began to resort to these cowardly methods to kill innocent civilians indiscriminately.

When a booby-trapped car is placed in a public square, it is not aimed at a certain person but at indiscriminate and criminal killing only. This is what happened.

What is this area bothering you? Is it because it has been and still is an example of national unity and of Lebanese coexistence and amity? Is it because it has become thorn in your flesh? Hence, you sent your venom to this area. Will you liberate Palestine through such methods?

In any case, national unity was demonstrated even in martyrdom as a result of this mean act. Those who were martyred in the Marj 'Uyun Square were two Shi'ite brothers from Dibbin town and a 14-year-old Christian girl from Marj 'Uyun.

Therefore, had there been discrimination, these three would not have been together nor killed together. The same thing applies to the wounded. If you examine their names, you will discover that they included Christians, Sunnites, Shi'ites and Druze. Among the wounded were Druze from Hasbayya and Ibil al-Saqy of the Mundhir family. They are still in the hospital. Therefore, in martyrdom and injury, the blood of the Lebanese [of different communities] flowed together in free Lebanon, in the Marj 'Uyun arena. Even in the commercial areas, not only Christian-owned stores, but rather both Christian and Muslim stores alike, which are adjacent to each other, sustained damage.

Is this how you liberate Palestine, Oh heroes? Aren't you ashamed of yourselves? [So this is what you do] instead of saluting and respecting the co-existence among this area's inhabitants and raising your hats in deference because this area's sons have been coexisting without outside interference, without international forces and without multinational forces. They do not need anybody to defend them against each other. Is this what hurts you, what disappoints you and what disturbs your sleep? Be ashamed of yourselves. However, we will not reciprocate in kind. We say that our sons were martyred for the sake of the homeland and genuine Lebanese unity. Such actions will only enhance our steadfastness and our faith in what we are doing and in the line we are pursuing because in this line alone, and none other, lies Lebanon's salvation.

What is more, we have never heard an official or otherwise, a Lebanese or otherwise, denouncing what happened, while we see them hastening to denounce and express their feelings when something happens in any other place. Why these attacks? Why this partiality, Oh politicians, mercenary men of religion and bogus men of intellect? Do you hate us so much? Why? Why? For God's sake why? Is it because we have helped to save you and your country from the Syrian-swindlers occupation? Why? Is it because we have restored dignity to you? Why? Is it because we have removed the Syrian-swindler boot from your necks? Be ashamed of yourselves. Had you an iota of shame, gallantry and nationalism, you would have come and knelt down in appreciation for the good deed this area's sons have done for you all. But alas! Our words fall on deaf ears. It appears that many of you regret the occupiers' expulsion because you were receiving large sums of money under occupation. This is why we see you regretful, and why we see you happy when the blood of our sons is shed--our sons who have sacrificed and continue to make sacrifices for your sake and for Lebanon's sake.

We do not regret that we have done, because our faith in Lebanon is much greater than being compensated by some of your sugar-coated words. We do not want sugar-coated statements by you, because you are a people who have sold yourselves to the devil and have sold your conscience. Such a people does not deserve to live. They have been accustomed to slavery and it is a sin that they should raise their head. Do you lead a people and do you lead a country?

Do you head parties? Do you claim to be men of religion? You are charlatans. You trade in the blood of the Lebanese people, whom you sell and buy. If you possessed a grain of patriotism and loyalty, you would have rushed to this area to be blessed by its soil and inhabitants. You would have been like the pilgrims who go to Mecca, Jerusalem and Rome.

Regrettably, however, you are divested of everything called real patriotism. At any rate, the Lebanese people will have their word sooner or later. They will not accept from now on that anyone should trade with them.

We regret the innocent victims who have fallen, and we wish the wounded early recovery. We are sure that God Almighty will take revenge on the perpetrators, because we are a faithful people. He will take revenge on the criminals and those who have sent them because we have harmed no one and only resorted to legitimate self-defense and to the defense of the homeland. We have not attacked anyone without good reason.

The third point I would like to address myself to is Amal Nasr Al-din in Israel. I tell him that we thank him for his zeal for southern Lebanon. In the meantime, we tell him that there is no reason to recommend to or demand that the Israeli Defense Forces prevent the fighting in the south between the Druze and the Christians. We would have preferred if had he said that he wished Israel and the IDF would patronize and encourage the spirit of solidarity, coexistence and unity prevailing among the sons of the various communities in the south--Druze, Christian, Sunnite and Shi'ite. We consider a person according to his patriotism and not his community. We implore God Almighty to bless and encourage this unity, because it is the means for the deliverance of Lebanon. We believe this.

We hope that Amal Nasr al-Din will correct his information and we assure him that only love, cooperation and solidarity exist between the Druze and the Christians in the south. There is no cause whatsoever for fighting. On the contrary, we seek cooperation to rebuild the homeland and build [Lebanese] men. This is our line and we will maintain it. Our views were identical during the meeting which took place between His Eminence Shaykh Hasan Tarif and between us before making this statement. Love and amity pervaded the meeting.

We have a reminder to our brother Lebanese in free Lebanon. You will remember what I said when the liberation operations began: Let bygones be bygones. I still adhere to what I have said and I mean and implement what I say. Somebody might ask: If this is what you said, why then are there still detainees in Ansar? I want to point out that the detainees in Ansar are not the detainees of the army of free Lebanon. They have been detained by the IDF. You have to discriminate between the two. On our part, we have given a pardon but I cannot guarantee the Israeli side. At any rate, I will not stop demanding the release of all the detained Lebanese as soon as possible provided that we make every Lebanese account for any action harmful to the country he might embark on from now on. I assure you that I have received an official promise that all of the Lebanese will be released in big batches quickly. The release has actually started and I hope it will not stop. I also hope that this will be a lesson to all and that nobody will be tempted to attempt to deceive or work against the interests of Lebanon.

Remember that we are working to help all the Lebanese without discrimination. In return, we demand loyalty to the homeland, Lebanon. I promise that anyone who will be arrested in the future for working against the interests of Lebanon will find no mercy. The penalties will be severe.

Another thing is that we are surprised to hear voices these days criticizing the behavior of the Lebanese Army, Government and even the president. These voices criticize the army for disarming east Beirut and not west Beirut. It appears that the critics have forgotten the past and that the arms amassed in west Beirut were used against legitimacy and Lebanon whereas the weapons in east Beirut were and still are in Lebanese hands working for the interests of Lebanon. Therefore, we protest and do not accept a comparison between the two sides. This would be like a comparison, God forbid, between Ibrahim Qulaylat and the late Bashir al-Jumayyil. It would be like a comparison between Ibrahim Qulaylat who sold himself and his conscience to the alien Libyans, Syrians and Saudis and others and between Bashir al-Jumayyil, who sacrificed everything, even his blood, for the sake of Lebanon. Do you accept such a comparison?

If you have agreed, we do not agree. We refuse to accept that arms should be collected equally at this time from all the rightist forces, so long as the country's future is not yet guaranteed. What shall we do with the swindlers and the Syrians, who are present in the north and in Al-Biqa? Shall we disarm ourselves, only to hand our weapons to these people? No, and 1,000 times no. If the army wants to enter east Beirut, let it enter--it is a Lebanese Army and we welcome it. However, it is imperative that it should not intercept or oppose any Lebanese persons or any Lebanese weapons. The army is aware that because these weapons have been in Lebanese hands, they have saved Lebanon and preserved something called Lebanon. The weapons of the others, however, were poised for crushing the Lebanese entity. We would suspect the intentions of all those who would demand the opposite. We would suspect the intentions of those who would make such a demand, particularly if such a demand is made by a person well known for his treason, such as, for instance, Rashid Karami. Rashid Karami dismembered the army, dismembered the country and made people homeless. He now demands that east Beirut be disarmed--on the basis of equal treatment.

Therefore, arms must stay in the hands of the Lebanese rightists until all Lebanese territory is liberated and until Lebanon's future in all domains is ensured, be this in the domestic field or in the international arena.

As of now, we will not accept any frail measures. We will not accept an army whose will and efficacy could be paralyzed just on the strength of a call made by this or that person. We want a steadfast Lebanon built on the rock of faith and patriotism, a Lebanon that would remain unaffected by the devastating waves of the sea, even if these waves are backed by all the Arab states.

Therefore, for this reason and from the premise of this principle, we say: We want safeguards for Lebanon's future. In the domestic and security domains, we want the army to be rebuilt on a sound national basis. We also want the army to be purged of the blemishes and of the rogues who had risen

in arms against Lebanon and against Lebanese sovereignty. Let this be understood by all. Nor will we accept an army comprising only large numbers. On the contrary, we are interested in quality before quantity and equipment.

Let these things be understood by those who entertain bad intentions, because we will not capitulate easily. We will not surrender easily, as they imagine. Those who have fought and who have made sacrifices for 7 years will not fall in the trap that easily, even if there is a sham or real consensus on national unity. We want to mobilize such a consensus in Lebanon's favor and in the interest of the Lebanese cause and of the Lebanese people.

We welcome those who accept our stance. However, may we tell those who do not accept this stance that the world is large--let them pack up and depart Lebanon.

Furthermore, in conclusion, today is the 40th anniversary [as heard] of the martyrdom of Lebanon's first martyr, Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil. I do not want to talk for a long time. But I want to say: We hope that the blood of the 5,000 martyrs, whom the late departed mentioned, headed by Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil, will not go in vain and that no one would think of trading with their blood. This innocent blood was spilled for the sake of Lebanon--it is imperative to use it in Lebanon's favor and in favor of Lebanon's future.

We hope that all the principles and values, for which the martyred late Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil struggled and in which he believed, will be put into practice. It is imperative that these principles be carried out so that his soul will repose in heaven. Nor do I want to recall to memory that when the late departed was elected president of the republic, all foxes and snakes--snake by snake--had hidden their heads out of fear. Now, these foxes and snakes are trying to raise their heads again. However, I assure you that His Excellency President Amin al-Jumayyil will implement the very same principles and values, although he is more patient. He will crush these heads that symbolized treason and symbolized Lebanon's ruination and destruction. He will seek to clear Lebanon of these heads and of their ilk so that Lebanon will survive. Long may you live and long may free Lebanon live--independent and its own master.

CSO: 4400/23

EX-PREMIER SALAM VIEWS LEBANESE SITUATION

PM111051 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 7 Oct 82 p 3

[Former Lebanese Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam, interview with unnamed AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT correspondent in Beirut--date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] During the past years you have often spoken about national accord and you have laid down many conditions for such an accord to be achieved. Now suddenly there has been a parliamentary unanimity on electing Amin al-Jumayyil president of the republic. Do you thus believe that accord has been achieved? What are your conditions now, particularly in light of the fact that the statement issued by the meeting of the Islamic leadership held in your house was welcomed by the "Lebanese Front"?

[Answer] The question of national accord is a basic issue in Lebanon. After it became a free and independent state in 1943 Lebanon was based on this accord. When it is said that there is a national covenant, it only means that there was an Islamic-Christian accord.

So from the beginning Lebanon was built on this agreement called national accord. Every issue from independence to this day has been subject to this consideration, and difficulties were overcome by resorting to the balance of national accord. But in the past eight years many elements became involved in the conflict in Lebanon and many hands manipulated matters since it is an open country. Unfortunately, certain Arab countries did not spare Lebanon in their conflicts; they were in conflict with each other in Lebanon but not outside it. Thus Lebanon was severely hurt.

The armed militias then came into being and violence escalated. From the beginning we have put forward the slogan that violence does not resolve Lebanon's problem. Unfortunately Lebanon has paid a high price in destruction, death and shedding of innocent blood. Thus it has been tangibly proved that violence did not solve the problem. We proved to be right and everybody was again calling for national accord and for a rapprochement--that is, both Muslims and Christians. Until recently and just before the Israeli invasion I was saying that I was convinced that if the Muslims and Christians were to be left alone and got together, they would smother each other with warm embraces. I was convinced of this because everybody wanted a return to

fraternization and cooperation in building Lebanon. At one time the Christians believed that if they shouted "O Christians" all the Christian world would come to their help, but they found that this was not true.

The Muslims, for their part, felt that if in case of difficulty they shouted "O Muslims" or "O Arabs" all the Muslims and all the Arabs would come to their help. But they discovered that this was not true. On the contrary, some of the Arab countries visited destruction and ruination upon them and violated their sanctities.

Thus they learned a hard lesson and returned to the accord I referred to. But unfortunately the Israeli invasion came and ruined all this; it was a savage and barbaric invasion and I am not sure if the world today realized the extent of its savagery, excessive humiliation, ugliness, and destruction and killing.

This city, heroic Beirut, proved its heroism by standing fast together with its brothers in the Palestinian resistance. We cared for the Palestinian resistance till the last. We care for it because we consider the Palestine problem our problem. We care for the Palestinians who for several days fought splendidly from the borders to Beirut but were unable to continue fighting against the infernal Israeli war machine. They indeed stood fast in Beirut and we stood fast with them.

In the end we were able to make our Palestinian brothers leave Lebanon with honor and dignity by agreement with them. I believe that this was a great achievement because when the Palestinians realized that they could no longer fight the infernal Israeli war machine they were convinced, and we too were convinced, that they should shift to political struggle. I hope that now their cause has won worldwide support, they will benefit from this and their political struggle will be successful. In the recent events we have paid a new price--that is, in the massacres of the Palestinians in their camps, in which Lebanese were also massacred. Thus Lebanon has once again paid the price in order to keep the Palestine problem and the Lebanese problem alive in the world. Today we are struggling politically and so are our Palestinian brothers.

[Question] Your excellency, we have heard that a U.S. signal was given to the deputies to support the election of Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil.

[Answer] I did not feel that there was U.S. support for Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil but I did feel that there was indeed U.S. support for Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil. This was clear and evident in many ways. But when I met with Bashir al-Jumayyil I found him free of all constraints, even in the area of his cooperation with Israel. Some people believed that he would be cooperating with Israel. But he refused to cooperate with Israel; on the contrary, he wanted to be president of all Lebanon. This was what made people pin hopes on him. This was probably the reason for his assassination. Before you ask me, I would say that I believe that it was Israel that killed him. Of course, this was done with Lebanese tools cooperating with Israel. These tools feared his toughness and were afraid that he would disband the militia.

He once called for integrating the [Phalangist] militia with the Lebanese Army, which was a challenge to the situation in Lebanon and to the Muslims in particular. We immediately objected to this. But he soon realized his mistake and admitted it. When I met him he assured me that he would disband the militia entirely. For this reason some people in the militia could be expected not to accept this. Therefore it was these people and Israel that finished off the man.

[Question] When you met with Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil did he show that he had differences with the Israelis, particularly after his meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin in Nahariya in early September?

[Answer] Yes, he told me that he was very annoyed with the Israelis because of what they were doing to him and around him.

[Question] There is an important point which is part of the question of accord. It concerns the deployment of the army in west Beirut, which has been a subject of argument for a long time. First its deployment in west Beirut was rejected and then it was said that the internal security forces were primarily responsible for security. Israel then entered west Beirut, after which the army became acceptable and every party wanted it.

[Answer] In fact the army story has a background. There have always been people hostile to the army; they used some of the shortcomings for which we blamed the army as an excuse to reject it. I was against this. For several years and since the beginning of the reorganization of the army I publicly supported the army. This used to cost me dearly because there was the so-called national movement--which I always called the non-national movement and which unfortunately was supported by one or another Arab country and by some of the Palestinian resistance--which always rejected and denounced the army. It used to be said that even if Saladin's army were to be brought in for them, they would still reject it. Which was true. For my part I always called for deploying the army, despite its shortcomings.

If the army is welcome today it is because the national movement and its backers no longer have a say as they have vanished from the Lebanese arena. They and others too are also asking for the army, but their request has come much too late because their previous stands have unfortunately created ill feelings. Nevertheless, today you see the security forces and the army gradually taking control of security backed by legitimacy. Today we are particularly optimistic about the dawning of a new era, since Beirut was for several years divided into eastern and western sectors. Today the security forces and the army are in such good control that they can open the gates of what used to be called the Berlin Wall dividing the city.

[Question] Apropos your remarks about the leftist parties, it is worth noting that these parties have declared their support for Amin al-Jumayyil as president of the republic. They even fired shots in the air in Al-Biqa' and in the north in rejoicing over this. But the new situation has brought about deep political changes in the Lebanese arena. Do you expect these parties to play a role in the future?

[Answer] I have differed with them because I denounced them. When we speak about the left people would compare the so-called left in Lebanon and in the Arab countries with the leftist parties in Europe, which establish their party programs on nationalist basis. But as for the left in the Arab world and in Beirut in particular, unfortunately it has only been a means of sabotage against others. This is the reason why I denounce them. They are a communist minority.

Muslims are not communists nor leftists. But still they often tried to tar all the Muslims with the communist and leftist brush. For this reason we have established what we call the Islamic grouping in order to prevent others from claiming that they speak for the Muslims. The Muslims not only are not communists or leftists but also are against communism and this false left. For this reason we resisted it [the left] and paid a high price which almost reached tragic proportions and in fact in some cases did. The left today feels that it is defeated and it is a small minority in Lebanon. In its own fashion it wants to appear to support legitimacy. Unfortunately had it not undermined legitimacy, we would not have needed today to express support for legitimacy because legitimacy would have continued to exist.

[Question] It is being said that Lebanon has finally come under the U.S. umbrella and the international conflict over it has been resolved. Do you agree with this view?

[Answer] The things for which we have blamed the United States from the time Israel was established to this day are innumerable. The United States blindly supports Israel in its aggression and expansion as well as in its internal and external terror against the Arabs of Palestine and all the Arabs around them. But you would find that the United States is the only country that can influence Israel. So for 30 years we have been trying to draw the United States' attention to its responsibility, because by this blind support it is harming not only Arab interests--and we have never asked it to preserve Arab interests--but also its own interests. But U.S. officials have always been under Zionist-Israeli influence and working against U.S. interests.

The United States, or rather the successive U.S. governments, have accustomed us to not trusting it when it takes a demarche. Today I would say that I am not reassured about the U.S. demarche. Will Reagan continue his demarche? I have a right to ask this because bitter experience has taught us otherwise. However, we cannot but pin hopes on such demarches because the United States is the only country that has effective influence on Israel because it is the one that supplies it with arms and money and gives it political support inside and outside the United Nations. Will the Israeli terrorization of the United States finally diminish? I believe that Israel, which talks about the terror of the Palestinians and others is the one that practices terror. Begin is the original terrorist; he began his terror in Dayr Yasin and the King David Hotel and has now completed it in Sabra and Shatila camps.

[Question] After talking about the U.S. role we must talk about the Arab and Saudi roles in dealing with the Lebanese problem. What is your opinion about these roles?

[Answer] For years I have been publicly reiterating the need for an Arab role. Most unfortunately the Arabs are fragmented and have become divided into two camps over what is happening in Lebanon. Some of them are against Lebanon to the point of being deadly in the use of arms, funds and influence against it. Others are not with Lebanon. Had it not been for Saudi Arabia--and here I am not trying to flatter anybody--which was aware of its responsibility and tried, through the four-man committee, to save Lebanon, there would have been no Arab interest in the Lebanese problem.

When the major events of the Israeli invasion occurred we found only the Saudi Arabian kingdom and His Majesty King Fahd, as well as His Excellency President Muhammad Husni Mubarak, with us. Much credit goes to King Fahd's intervention and influence in saving us from many tragedies. Today we still depend on this. Everybody knows how he sometimes used to wake President Reagan from his sleep in order to bring pressure on him. I cannot forget this. I also cannot but appreciate Egypt's stand. I became particularly appreciative of this stand when my life was in danger because of what we call the leftists, the non-nationalist movement, the saboteurs and all the communists, the Soviets and some of the Arabs who are behind them. Today we say that we hope that the United States will continue its demarche. It will do so only if it feels the Arab pressure which could be effective only through Saudi pressure.

[Question] The Fes summit has called for negotiations between the Lebanese Government and the Syrian Government for the withdrawal of the Arab deterrent forces. Do you expect such negotiations shortly?

[Answer] I expect them to take place shortly. We, unlike some other people, do not wish to equate the Syrian military presence with the Israeli enemy invasion and presence. The Syrians came here at Lebanon's request, made by the legitimate authority and in accordance with an Arab League decision. Lebanon, as you know, withdrew this request some time ago but Syria clung to the Arab League decision. The Arab League adopted a wise resolution. It did not tell Syria to withdraw, and we quite agree with it here, but said: Let the matter be negotiated between Syria and Lebanon. As everybody has heard, Syria has repeatedly declared that it is ready to leave Lebanon. Its condition for doing so is that Israel should also leave, which is in the interest of Lebanon and the Arabs.

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PAPERS REFUSE TO PRINT ISRAELI ADS

TA121521 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 12 Oct 82 p 8

[Report by Gabi Zohar]

[Text] Several Beirut newspapers refused to publish advertisements by Israeli businessmen last week.

The businessmen, who went specially to west Beirut, received flat refusals from the Lebanese editorial staffs when they asked to publish the advertisements. They were told that only after a peace treaty was signed between Israel and Lebanon would the papers agree to publish Israeli advertisements.

The Israeli businessmen involved were two brothers from Rishon Leziyyon who established a fair for procurers and merchants from Lebanon in the Tel Akhziv parking lot, in the western Galilee. Businessman Eli (Buhniq) of Rishon Leziyyon, who visited the good fence, got the impression that Lebanese businessmen have difficulty going to the large commercial centers in Israel. He turned to the Rosh Haniqra Regional Council which leased him the parking lot for 3 months.

(Buhniq) invited various Israeli manufacturers, who are presenting an assortment of products—such as solar water heaters, electric ovens, wine, tractors and agricultural equipment, plastic and stainless steel products, children and baby toys, electronic devices and even diamonds—to the Lebanese procurers, to the fair. The fair was organized by private enterprise and is not being held under the auspices of the Industry and Commerce Ministry.

Yesterday, only a few Lebanese procurers came to Tel Akhziv. They examined the products but no orders were made, and in fact not a single deal has yet been signed.

CSO: 4400/23

BRIEFS

ANTI-ARMY CAMPAIGN DENOUNCED--The League of the Supporters of Legitimacy and the Army [Rabitat Ansar Al-Shar'iyah wa al-Jaysh] has denounced the statements attacking the army, the texts of which are published in some newspapers while the genuine statements of public opinion are abridged or are not published. In a statement it has released, the league says that the conspiracy against Lebanon and the army is continuing. The league regards this campaign as aimed at obstructing the plan for the restoration of the legitimate authority over every inch of Lebanese territory and for putting the house in order and cleansing it of the outlaws. [Tex] [NC141602 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 14 Oct 82]

ELECTRICITY, ROADS CLOSED--[Words indistinct] of bombing is reported in the mountain. Clashes intensified at 1700 [1500 GMT] this afternoon in the villages of Kafr Matta, Dqun, 'Bayh, Bi'wirta and Qabr Shmun. The belligerents are reported to be using light and heavy weapons of all calibers. All the roads leading to the regions of conflict have been closed due to the heavy gunfire, and bombs are said to be falling every minute. In particular, the Beirut-Damascus road was reported to be closed, beginning from the Sawfar area. Electrical cable lines are reported to have fallen due to the intense gunfire. [Word indistinct] and electricity have been cut off from certain regions. [Text] [NC131854 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in English 1815 GMT 13 Oct 82]

CSI: 4400/23

AL-QADHDHAFI SEEKS CLOSER TIES WITH SOCIALIST BLOC

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 31, 20 Sep 82 pp 5, 6

[Text]

Libya will step up trade and economic cooperation with Poland and Czechoslovakia, following agreements signed by Colonel Moammar Qadhafi during his recent Eastern European tour. Poland is to give Libya access to some of its unutilised production capacity and will send more technicians to work in Libya, the official Polish news agency announced. Other measures to expand industrial cooperation between the two countries will include the implementation of a number of Polish investment projects in Libya, the agency added.

There are currently some 14,000 Poles working in Libya, mainly on construction projects. Libyans in Poland are reported to include military personnel undergoing training, but their numbers have not been officially disclosed. Poland buys small quantities of oil from OPEC countries including Libya, but is otherwise wholly dependent on the USSR for its oil requirements.

Before moving on to Warsaw, Col Qadhafi concluded a friendship and cooperation treaty with Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak, while trade officials discussed economic cooperation. Czechoslovakia is involved in a number of housing and industrial projects in Libya and several hundred Czech technical and medical experts work there. Under a long-term agreement dating back to 1974, Czechoslovakia has an option to buy up to 1 million tonnes of Libya's high-grade crude oil, but it is not known whether Prague has fully exercised this option.

Col Qadhafi's visits to Prague and Warsaw were seen as an effort to alleviate Libya's current diplomatic isolation from the West and much of the Third World. The Libyan leader boycotted the recent Arab summit in Fez to publicise his differences with the rest of the Arab world over how to deal with the Palestinian issue. His visit to Poland was the first by any foreign head of state outside the Warsaw Pact, since the imposition of martial law last December.

MED PROGRESSIVES MEET IN MALTA

Valletta JAMAHIRIYA MAIL in English 18 Sep 82 p 12

[Text]

● A three-day meeting of the Permanent Organisation of the Progressive and Socialist Parties of the Mediterranean has been held in Malta. During the meeting it was decided to run a progressive journalists association for the region under the aegis of the organisation.

The meeting was officially opened by Dr Alex Sceberras Trigona, Maltese Foreign Minister, who urged the organisation to implement the document passed during a meeting held in Malta in 1977.

For the meeting the Baath Socialist Party of Syria was represented for the first time. Others were the Palestine Liberation Organisation, PASOK of Greece, the Malta Labour Party, the Egyptian National Front and the General Congress of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The Association of Progressive Journalists' of Malta is the first to join the association. Within two months, a meeting of the Mediterranean progressive journalists is to be held in Malta; so that the association's statute can be drawn up.

Later, the Assistant Secretary General of the organisation, Mr Wahhab Zentani, a Libyan, led a team on a courtesy visit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Malta, Dr Daniel Micallef.

CSO: 4500/5

MAURITANIANIZATION CONTINUES TO HAVE GOOD RESULTS

Nouakchott CHAAB in French 2 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with Baba Ould Sidi Abdallah, general director of SNIM [National Industrial and Mining Company], 9 July, on Radio Mauritania]

[Text] On the eve of the 10 July holiday, Baba Ould Sidi Abdallah, general director of SNIM, was the guest of Radio Mauritania on a special broadcast: "Direct to You From Studio 5." He was accompanied by a number of aides and management personnel from the company.

The contents of the broadcast have recently been published in the bulletin put out by the company's press service, SNIM INFORMATION.

The following is the first part of that broadcast, which constitutes an "X-ray picture of SNIM-SEM" [expansion unknown].

[Question] There has been talk of the imminent shutdown of F'Derick. What is the truth about this story?

[Answer] According to our schedule, the closing of the F'Derick quarry was to come about sooner. This is due to the fact that the ore taken from that quarry is no longer selling well. Nevertheless, as you know, the shutdown was delayed, although on 8 January 1981, we opened two new quarries, Seyala and Azouazil, which should be the last iron bastion in Kedia d'Idjil, thus replacing F'Derick, which is for the most part exhausted and little of whose ore is sold.

[Question] What will be the impact of the closing of the F'Derick quarry on the population of that city and on Zouerate? Will it result in a reduction in personnel? Will there be a transfer of the people to Zouerate and Guelbs?

[Answer] It was initially planned that the F'Derick quarry would be shut down in 1981. The closing did not take place. Consequently, the one I just announced actually consists in a reduction in the program because of the drop in demand in recent years stemming from the current crisis on the market, a crisis that is growing worse. Actually, the SNIM program provided that the F'Derick quarry would be replaced by Azouazil and Seyala, to which personnel

was to be transferred. However, it was not possible to get these two quarries in operation before F'Derick was closed. One should note that the official in charge of this quarry is the same one for the new quarries opened in 1981.

Actually, this quarry could have repercussions on the city of F'Derick, given its proximity to the village and the fact that some personnel working there had already been living in the city of F'Derick. It will have no particular impact on personnel. One should note that there has been an increase in SNIM personnel of over 1,000 persons between 1980 and today. We are now moving toward 6,000, the objective of the Guelbs project. For the plant, our personnel are being trained or given more advanced courses at training centers here or abroad. Please note that this is in addition to personnel it was necessary to recruit for the Mauritanianization. Every time a Mauritanian takes the place of an expatriate employee, that Mauritanian is replaced by another Mauritanian, and so on down the line to the lowest level. The result is that Mauritanianization efforts themselves involve heavy recruiting.

[Question] At the time of the 27 November broadcast, the percentage of Mauritanians in posts was nearly 100. Is it still the same or even better now?

[Answer] No, Mauritanianization is not yet total because it was undertaken in an extensive manner in recent years. Obviously, it required personnel training or retraining in certain cases. In others, we had to recruit new graduates of universities or higher institutes, who had to be trained in the jobs they would have in the company. Nevertheless, it is now total in some sectors. For example, SNIM no longer has any foreign department head; all are Mauritanian. By the end of the year, all directorships will be held by Mauritanians except for two connected with the Guelbs project and whose status is linked to completion of the Guelbs project. Among these, one might mention the rather recent Mauritanianization of the commercial director in Paris and the director of the SNIM branch in Paris.

These efforts were made possible thanks to the ability of Mauritanians to take on important duties in the company. Efforts have also been made to have Mauritanian foremen and we shall continue to try to have Mauritanians in all posts within the departments by 1985.

We have a rather precise program set up. There is a survey of posts to be filled by Mauritanians and in most cases (example: the Guelbs plant), we know the person well and the name of the person who is going to occupy a post for which he is being trained. I must tell you that the efforts made in recent years have made it possible for Nouadhibou to catch up with Zouerate. As a result, the level of Mauritanianization is now nearly equivalent. Mauritanians placed in posts they supposedly could not fill have "hung in there" and SNIM took measures to help them improve their knowledge. It is from these that we choose persons to send abroad each year for more advanced training. This enables them to keep the post. Furthermore, we have had no problems, although these persons were in positions entrusted to them only temporarily. They are now permanent and Mauritanianization was pursued on that basis. We have here Nana Ould Abderahmane, who came to SNIM on the occasion of the events of May 1977.

[Nana Ould Abderahmane] Initially, there was in fact this de facto Mauritanianization. But we had to face a new situation, new responsibilities in a particularly hostile climate. There was the war, the facilities; the city was almost constantly under attack. While continuing production, we also had to keep up morale or even revive it. Above all, we had to replace all those who were leaving, from the director to department heads and foremen.

[Question] How is the Mauritanianization plan going? Is it viewed from the standpoint of 1 May 1977 or the plan that existed? Is it closer to the de facto situation created by the intervention of the POLISARIO in Zouerate or is it the same Mauritanianization plan that continues?

[Answer] Obviously, the Mauritanianization plan that now exists is certainly much closer to reality than the one in May 1977, if not more thorough because all provisions had been taken.

Actually, previous to 1977, there was a plan that was applied until 1980. But in 1981, we got out a program that was very precise and that was completely drawn up by Mauritians, by the personnel planning department and in cooperation with all our operational departments, practically all of which had been Mauritanianized.

This Mauritanianization program will extend to all administrative production posts in the years ahead -- that is, between now and 1985 -- and SNIM has not only developed this program, but has taken provisions so that the program will be carried out. A certain number of sections had been set up in the SNIM professional training centers. To complete what I have just said, Mauritanianization is now following a quite precise program. One must add that in some cases, we have not mastered it because it is going a little faster than the program, but the best will come of it. It is the situation of crisis, the constant alert, that has created a new spirit and enabled Mauritians to have confidence in themselves because there was no other choice. Since ore was the only existing activity, we had to make sacrifices and face up to problems that were sometimes very great. The lack of training, the company's particularly difficult financial situation and the deterioration of the equipment are all factors that had to be faced at the risk of a failure unacceptable to everyone, especially the younger Mauritanian cadres. Everything thus began with national awareness and a challenge that had to be faced.

Mauritanianization has not ceased to spread with the speed it has shown in the past. It has now attained its cruising speed because some sectors of the company are almost completely Mauritanian. For example, what is called the "road" sector, which until recent years had not at all followed the early Mauritanianization efforts, is surpassing what had been undertaken elsewhere and we are achieving almost total Mauritanianization. All that we can tell you is that the efforts have been maintained and that we have in fact been on the right track, insofar as it has been very beneficial to the company for it to be headed and staffed by Mauritians because it is obvious that they know their interests better than anyone else.

[Question] At the time of the round table organized on SNIM in 1978, when Mauritanianization was brought up, it was noted that it was the events of the war in Zouerate that led to a Mauritanianization that was not planned but that has nevertheless been beneficial, both with respect to performance as well as the quality of Mauritanians who took the place of expatriates returning to France.

This situation as perhaps led some of us to hope that the POLISARIO would intervene in Nouadhibou so that there might be a Mauritanianization. With regard to planning, do you take into account only the criteria applied at the time -- that is, that when the Mauritanian arrives, several years of experience are needed before he can replace the expatriate -- or are there new criteria in light of the Zouerate experience?

[Answer] In 1977, there was a Mauritanianization that was in fact not desired by company management, or at least, by the different officials in office at the time. I mean officials at the main office, the managing director and the board of directors. For some, the Mauritanianization should not have been continued. Programs were set up so that expatriates who returned after the tension had subsided could regain their posts and in 1977, they began to bring back a certain number of expatriates who were to occupy posts given to Mauritanians following the POLISARIO attack on Zouerate in 1977. In 1980, we realized that expatriates had been returned to posts held by Mauritanians and we were forced to intervene. As you say, after 1977, there was a rather forced Mauritanianization that was undertaken in Zouerate, but it did make it possible to put Mauritanians into posts and we in SNIM believe that it was extremely beneficial.

11,464
CSO: 4519/1

HOUSING PROJECTS WITH UN COOPERATION PLANNED

Nouakchott CHAAB in French 10 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Mounirou Wane]

[Text] Within the framework of UN cooperation, two experimental projects involving housing construction and solar water distillers will be launched this month.

In yesterday's edition, we described the first phase of these operations.

In the last part of this article, we shall tell of the contributions of national and international organizations to the project, the Ministry of Hydraulics and Housing and SONADER [National Rural Development Company] on the national level and the UNDP and the CNUEH [expansion unknown] for foreign aid.

The project also proposes to aid the people living in the area by: the planning of villages; the development of local construction materials and the introduction of improved building techniques; the establishment of small industries producing items using local materials, such as bricks, schist paving stones and ceramic tile; the establishment of cooperative transport services; assistance for the construction of production equipment such as village grain storage facilities; the development of community financial structures (people's banks, for example); assistance for do-it-yourself construction: improvements in materials and techniques, construction of sanitary facilities, sewer systems for lots, the construction of energy-saving furnaces, and so on.

Scheduled to take 3 years, the project will therefore aid in the establishment of the first five villages on the general development program and will prepare the elements needed for the continuation of this assistance, probably in modified form, based on experience gained and relief crews trained in the meantime.

Regarding the feasibility study for the improvement of rural housing throughout the national territory, it is aimed at identifying needs with respect to improved housing in the country, drawing up and documenting work plans for pilot operations and assisting in the search for financing for the operations during later phases involving the construction of pilot or model villages.

Regarding financing, the project being carried out through the coordination of UNDP contributions for the Imraguen phase, during which the organization will set up the multidisciplinary team that will direct the construction of housing and its related facilities, as well as the financing of a salt water distillation unit and a plaster production unit (using solar energy).

The Ministry of Hydraulics and Housing is providing national counterparts for non-Mauritanian experts, who will take over at the end of the project to continue similar operations in other places.

The population [sentence incomplete] partially through actual construction work and partially through the self-financing of facilities.

Within the framework of the Gorgol Noir phase, the UNDP will provide the multidisciplinary team that will do the planning and direct the complete self-construction of the villages, while providing financing of elements making it possible to operate vehicles, fuel, and so on.

Nationals who will eventually take over are supplied by the Ministry of Hydraulics.

SONADER resources with respect to housing and infrastructure included in the general budget for the agricultural water project, whose financing has been found, are taken into account in order to complete outside aid. A program of action will be drawn up by the Ministry of Rural Development and the Ministry of Hydraulics and Housing in order to work out the details for such contributions and the terms applying thereto.

The people's contribution in the way of actual work will be of major importance.

The UN Center for Human Establishments will provide a multidisciplinary team of consultants as well as the services of an expert. Coordination and logistics will be the province of the UNDP and assistants for the multidisciplinary team of consultants will be supplied by the Ministry of Hydraulics, which will also supply the offices needed for project officials.

The amount of UNDP financing is \$1,132,325, or 59,447,062 ouguiya, distributed as follows: 1982, \$88,460, or 4,644,150 ouguiya; 1983, \$457,360, or 24,011,400 ouguiya; 1984, \$387,100, or 20,322,750 ouguiya; and 1985, \$199,405, or 10,468,762 ouguiya.

CNUEH financing is 3,097,000 ouguiya for 1982 and 1983. The Ministry of Hydraulics will make its contribution for the wages of nationals during the period of the project.

It should be noted that the 1982 budget enters into the accounts the mere continuation of personnel already in place on the occasion of the preparatory assistance phase (Mau 79/002) and the relay project (Mau 82/004).

The contribution expected of SONADER was calculated so as to remain within the limits set by the "buildings and social infrastructures" budgetary line included within the overall budget for the Gorgol Noir agricultural water project.

The allocation it reserved is based on aid totaling 500,000 ouguiya per village for the construction of schools, clinics, wells, and so on, plus aid amounting to 70,000 ouguiya per family for the 590 residents on the site of the program for aid going to the construction of their housing.

In the proposals made by the Mau 82/003 project, this overall package was taken into account and prorated for families affected by the project, that is, for the first five villages.

This contribution of SONADER, included in the Mau 82/003 project and for the sum of \$1,147,778, will be the subject of an agreement between SONADER and project officials with regard to its use and administration.

11,464

CSO: 4519/2

PLANS UNDERWAY FOR KING KHALID MILITARY SCHOOL

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 18 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Muhammad al-Sulayman: "Prince Mut'ib ibn 'Abdallah Tells AL-RIYAD: 'King Khalid Military School Will Open Next Muharram; Preparations Are Going Well, and a Dormitory Project Will Soon Be Approved'"]

[Text] Final preparations are currently underway for the opening of the King Khalid Military School which is under the authority of the national guard. Classes will begin with the start of the next school year in 1403 [Hegira].

Preparation of the curricula and the military and cultural programs of study is underway.

His highness Captain Mut'ib ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the school's director, spoke with AL-RIYAD about the first phase of the school's opening and the opening of its dormitories, and about the status of the students after graduation. He said, "The school is quite well prepared to receive its first class."

The school is expected to open in Muharram or Safar of next year, 1403 [Hegira]. The first student acceptances will be announced in the various information media.

School Housing

Captain Mut'ib said the following about the school's new dormitory project for its students: "As everyone knows, his highness the heir apparent, deputy prime minister and head of the national guard signed a general housing authorization for the national guard. But the school has its own dormitory project which will soon be implemented directly inasmuch as a contract for the dormitories is expected to be concluded within three or four months."

The dormitory project is completely separate from the national guard housing project.

The director of the King Khalid Military School spoke about the school's educational level in comparison with that of the higher military school.

He said, "Students at the King Khalid Military College will find all they need in the way of sophisticated military and scientific training.

"In military training and the study of military law there is no difference in what the student receives here from that which he may receive at other military schools. But in academic subjects there is a difference from other schools. This is what distinguishes our school from the others. We are always working to see to it that the student who graduates from any [Saudi] college, particularly from King Khalid Military School which is a modern school, has achieved the levels of the most advanced schools throughout the world."

The Capacity of the School

Captain Mut'ib said the following about the school's initial capacity to accept students:

"The school's initial enrollment has been limited to 400 students, but this is only for the beginning."

"Upon graduation the students will be distributed among the various sectors according to the needs of the national guard. Upon graduation the names of the graduating students will be given to the concerned parties within the national guard and they will be distributed according to each sector's requirements. The graduates will be appointed to positions only in the national guard because the other military bodies have their own military schools. But if any sector needs our graduates we are fully prepared to provide them with the graduates they need."

Advantages

The school's director said the following about the advantages enjoyed by the students after graduation:

"The King Khalid Military School will be included in the general organization of military schools. Its students will graduate with the rank of second lieutenant and receive a bachelor of military science degree. The school's graduates will enjoy other advantages as well. Every agency is making an effort to attain a high level and is encouraging recruitment."

University Graduates

Captain Mut'ib said the following about the national guard's invitation to non-military university graduates:

"The door has been opened for university graduates in specific fields needed by the national guard, such as medicine, engineering and other specialities required by the division of officer affairs. Anyone requiring further details on this subject can get in touch with the division of officer affairs in the national guard. They can provide full information."

9123

CSO: 4404/645

CHANGES IN LABOR FORCE LAWS STUDIED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 23 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Nasir al-Qar'awi]

[Text] A New Labor Force Strategy In the Kindgom: the Committee On the Labor Force Has Almost Completed Its Study and Is Almost Ready To Submit It To the Cabinet; the Strategy Will Change Many Aspects Of The Employment Of Foreign and Native Workers; Among Its Principal Features Are the Following: It Will Expand Vocational Training and Develop Specialized Curricula; It Will Provide Incentives to Raise Employee Standards; It Will Provide Youth Guidance Programs.

The organizational study being carried out by the committee on the labor force in the kingdom concerning both foreign and native workers is nearly complete.

The committee recently carried out a study of the current situation of workers and the requirements for development in various fields, and the extent to which the actual needs can be adequately filled from local and foreign sources.

The goal of the new system is to guide the recruitment and development of native cadres and to raise the level of their technical skills through advanced programs provided by the state to the various sectors and individuals.

The committee, which is headed by his majesty Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the second deputy prime minister and minister of defense and aviation, was given this assignment on the basis of cabinet directives which referred to the committee a study which had been submitted by the ministerial committee and accompanying studies which had been prepared by the committee of deputy ministers, headed by his excellency Dr. Ibrahim al-'Awaji, deputy minister of the interior.

The comprehensive study of the work force situation, which will include the committee's views and recommendations, is expected to be submitted to the cabinet for final debate and assignment for implementation.

The study includes new proposals for expanding vocational training and raising the general level of training for civil servants, professionals and students, and for creating incentives for education and improving and raising individual skill levels, productivity and the ability to perform one's job.

The study also includes plans linked with or supplementing those of the sectors which as a group are represented in the nation's general labor strategy.

Implementation of this strategy is expected to begin as along with, and as a supplement to, the next 5-year plan inasmuch as it will augment the capabilities of the various sectors to carry out the new large and ambitious plans to provide native cadres with a high level of professional and technical skills who will be capable of managing all the projects and programs in the kingdom. It will also augment industrial, professional and technical training programs, and the training received by Saudi students. This will assure the progress of projects within the local development plans, and make them economically and socially more viable. It will create special guidance programs for students and youths, and will encourage them to enroll in scientific and technical fields and other related specialities. These will help to inculcate a cultural outlook based on the teachings of the Islamic religious law and Saudi values and traditions.

9123

CSO: 4404/645

CHANGES TO AFFECT STUDENTS STUDYING ABROAD

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 18 Aug 82 p 2

[Article: "Students Sent for Training Abroad Will be Excused From Background Seminars; They Will Be Given Booklets About the Countries To Which They Are Being Sent"]

[Text] At its recent meeting the committee on training in the civil service bureau discussed a suggestion submitted to it concerning the enrollment of students who will be studying abroad for periods longer than 1 year in a background class organized by the Higher Institute for Islamic Teaching, which is under the authority of the Imam Muhammad ibn Sa'ud Islamic University.

After studying the proposal the committee came to the opinion that the number of those to whom it applied did not constitute a large proportion. Furthermore, the training statutes required employees sent for training abroad to be proficient in the language in which they will be instructed. This means that the majority of employees who are to be sent abroad for training have already studied in those countries or have acquired a knowledge and familiarity with the laws and customs of the country in which they will receive their training. In addition, they are usually people who are experienced and knowledgeable about all aspects of their country and society.

The committee decided that it was not necessary to require them to enroll in the class. Instead it settled for preparing guide booklets to the countries to which the employees would be sent for training. This will be done in coordination with the offices of the Saudi educational attaches and the concerned embassies. A copy of these booklets will be delivered to the employee being sent abroad for training upon the issuance of his notification of acceptance for training abroad.

It should be pointed out that the committee on training is headed by his excellency Professor Turki ibn Khalid al-Sudayri, the head of the civil service bureau, and consists of the following members: his excellency Dr Muhammad al-Tawil, director general of the public administration academy; Professor 'Abd-al-Ilah al-Mu'ayyad, director general of central administration for organization and administration; and Professor Muhammad al-Dal'an, assistant deputy to the governor of the public organization for technical education and vocational training.

9123

CSO: 4404/645

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR TO BE REORGANIZED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 28 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Sulayman al-Nasir: "Following Approval By the Royal House the Administrative Structure Of the Ministry Of the Interior Will Be Reorganized; New Divisions Will Be Created; Certain Offices Will Be Changed From Civilian To Military Administration; the Reorganization Will Be Put Into Effect In Muharram; It Will Help the Ministry Pursue Its Security and Social Functions"]

[Text] The royal house has approved a reorganization of the administrative structure of the Ministry of the Interior which will include converting several bureaus into departments and changing certain civilian bureaus into military bureaus. It will also include setting up new bureaus in the public interest.

The royal house approved the proposals which were submitted by the committee for administrative reform headed by his majesty Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the second deputy prime minister. The proposals will be implemented at the beginning of Muharram.

The reorganization will help the ministry more effectively carry out its security and social functions for the cabinet and the minister of defense and aviation. A number of ministers and officials were members of the committee. The proposals call for reorganizing the administrative structure of the Ministry of the Interior, changing a number of bureaus into departments, diversifying its divisions to serve the public interest, converting several bureaus from civilian administration to military administration, and creating new bureaus.

Under the reorganization the bureau of permits and civil affairs will be converted into a general department under military administration. Certain other divisions will also be placed under military administration. New Interior Ministry divisions will be created, and the ministry's functions will be expanded.

The Ministry of the Interior is carefully studying the implementation of this administrative reorganization which is expected to modernize it, eliminate bureaucracy, and facilitate operations. The plan focuses on broadening the base of public service and reorganizing the functions of this ministry which has authority over many sectors in the state and which has many branches. It plays a role in crime prevention and investigation and in the defense of the

country and its citizens. The ministry is expected to make an announcement about this soon, after it completes its study of the implementation of the total structure which has already received royal approval. The bureaus specified in the reorganization will then be converted and the new ones will be created to facilitate operations and eliminate bureaucracy.

9123

CSO: 4404/645

DAMASCUS WARNS AGAINST ARAB RIGHTWING CONSPIRACIES

JN131819 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Palestine broadcast: unattributed commentary]

[Text] Some act as if the battle has ended. They imagine that the horses have returned to their stables and that the cavaliers have dismounted to rest after fighting and to sleep after a long time of sleeplessness. Some even want us to trust America, which along with its allies and agents, has not fulfilled its simplest pledges regarding an agreement on the evacuation of the resistance from Beirut. We later discovered that our kinfolk in Sabra and Shatila were massacred.

This America can fulfill its biggest pledge to its dearest friends in the Arab world by finding a solution for the Palestinian people after having uprooted their revolution from Lebanon. Thus, to give us false tranquility they want us to abandon our steadfastness and struggle trenches, to go wherever they want us to go, to disperse as they wish, to lay down our arms where they order us to and to discard fighters' uniforms and replace them with the uniforms of peaceful negotiators. They even want us to go into the chamber of peaceful negotiations only after having pawned ourselves to authorities which are entirely trusted by the CIA and are in complete cooperation with the Israeli Mossad. Only then, we are told that we can have anything that we desire. We do not believe, even if we allow ourselves to be lured into that trap, that we can ask for more than to be allowed to escape unscathed after having lost all our sincere brothers and friends in the world and having lost the revolution.

Does this path guarantee the continuation of the revolution? Is this the path that will strengthen the revolution's position based on the world respect it received following the legendary steadfastness of its fighters in Beirut, after the true criminal nature of the Zionists was revealed before the whole world and when none of their friends dared defend their behavior?

We do not believe this is the right path. If the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was carried out in order to execute an American decision stemming from an imperialist campaign against the will of liberation and progress, from an assault of the right in the region against the left with the aim of destroying

the positions of the revolution, progress and the left, then saving the Palestinian revolution will not be achieved by removing it from these positions to look for protection, security and the promised solution in the laps of the reactionary Arab right, which colluded with America and Israel. The Palestinian revolution can only be saved by standing alongside revolutionary, progressive and leftist Arabs in the trenches to continue the defense of the nation's destiny, which includes the destiny of Palestine.

Only fools can imagine, even for a moment, that Palestine can be saved while the Arab nation is being divided and while it loses its freedom, independence, revolutionary spirit and progressiveness. When the nation is lost, Palestine is lost, and when the will of the nation is victorious, Palestine is victorious. Since Syria today represents the nation's steadfastness trench, the stubborn will of the nation's resistance revolution must as always take its position alongside Syria in one trench to confront the imperialist-Zionist-agent-reactionary alliance.

CSO: 4400/23

TISHRIN'HIGHLIGHTS RELATIONS WITH SOCIALIST BLOC

JN150756 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0445 GMT 15 Oct 82

[From the press review]

[Text] In today's editorial TISHRIN says: GDR State Council chairman Erich Honecker's official visit to Syria under the current difficult circumstances engulfing the world at large and the Arab nation in particular reaffirms how strong the ties are that bind Syria with its honorable friends in the world. Furthermore, the visit confirms Syria's special relations with the socialist countries which are the primary ally of the Arab nationalist liberation movement.

TISHRIN goes on to say that the long history of Syria's relations with the socialist countries, led by the friendly Soviet Union, are replete with fruitful cooperation in all the economic and cultural walks of life. The political and military aid which is prompted by the socialist ideology has contributed greatly to activating the trend against colonialism in its well-known classical form and its advanced imperialist forms.

TISHRIN adds: The socialist bloc has sided with Arab nationalist liberation movement through thick and thin both within the context of international bodies and on the level of bilateral relations. The military aid to the peoples' struggle against the imperialist expansionist designs is being displayed in the socialist countries' relations with the progressive regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Arab people's struggle against the Israeli expansionist designs and the U.S. imperialist hegemony is an element in the mainstream of the world revolutionary movement which aspires for a better future governed by social justice and just peace.

CSO: 4400/23

'AL-BA'TH' ON INFORMATION MINISTER'S STATEMENTS

JN141211 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0445 GMT 14 Oct 82

[From the press review]

[Excerpt] Commenting on the statement by Information Minister Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad, AL-BA'TH writes: In confirmation of Syria's firm and continued principled stand, which has mapped out and defined Syria's policy since the [1963] March revolution and after the [1970] corrective movement toward all pan-Arab issues and their developments, particularly the central question, Palestine, it is necessary from time to time to explain and clarify the dimensions of this policy on the pan-Arab reality. In confirmation of this principle, the information minister's statement asserted Syria's principled and continued pan-Arab stand on which all policies and trends are based and which represents the will to fight in order to preserve our national dignity epitomized by the Palestinian question. Nobody has the right to deal with this question unilaterally, except through the PLO, which is the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, because it is the central Arab question.

AL-BA'TH adds: In his statement, the minister of information made it clear that Israel is intent on continuing aggression against our Arab nation and is being given unlimited support by the United States so that the U.S. policies in the Middle East have become pure Israeli policies. The minister of information explained the Syrian stands on these issues which stem from our deep understanding of the intentions of Zionist colonialism, which are based on using the unjust unlimited power provided by the United States against the Arab existence for the sake of Israeli expansionism at the expense of Arab land.

This reality clarifies the dimensions of the developments witnessed in the Arab arena and explains the dimensions of the setbacks suffered by the contemporary Arab struggle march and the obstacles which have prevented the Arabs from achieving their great national aims.

The best example which is still in the mind of every Arab is the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the atrocities committed by the Israeli occupation army which are unprecedented in the history of mankind. In brief, despite some people's misinterpretation, be it intentionally or unintentionally, of

paragraphs of the information minister's statement as a result of the break up of the topics by news agencies, our country's firm and clear-cut stand on the fateful issues of our nation will not be affected by the campaigns of distortion and doubts because of the importance and influence of this stand on the pan-Arab and international level and on the successive and urgent developments which are taking place on the Arab arena.

CSO: 4400/23

END

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